Constructing Identities

Structure and Practice in the Early Bronze Age – Southwest Norway

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***Front-page illustration**:*

Guttorsmshaugen at Reheia in Karmøy.

Photo: K. I. Austvoll, 2013.

PREFACE

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

All figures are by author unless otherwise specified.

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

BCE – Before Common Era (Neutral Equivalent to BC)
BP – Before Present (1950)
BRA – Bronze Age
EBA – Early Bronze Age
LBA – Late Bronze Age
LN – Late Neolithic
MNB – Middle Neolithic B
PRIA – Pre-Roman Iron Age

PART I

BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK

1 INTRODUCTION

This study will discuss the term identity and how the Bronze Age societies of southwest Norway expressed and constructed their own interpretations of themselves and others. Funerary practice and how the bereaved are faced with different choices when presenting their dead will form the starting point for this study. Their choice, or lack thereof, will resonate throughout this thesis and is based on the concept that identity – past social practice and forms of action – are trajectories for future practice and events (Wetherell 2009:10). Of course, this is an oversimplification, and most social theorists will acknowledge that identity is both shifting and situational (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). Transmitting this concept to archaeology can be challenging, especially considering that material remains often are our only analytical source. Yet, in order to categorise groups and individuals in prehistory, we need 'identity' as an interpretive tool for recognizing different aspects of a society. Some may argue that a group identity is not an actual entity, that it is just a social construction and therefore cannot act, i.e. it is not real (e.g. Brubaker 2004:7-27). However, does this justify its inexistence? I beg to differ, and to quote Richard Jenkins (2004:12): "That groups are social constructions doesn't mean that they are illusions". With this as a backdrop, I want to examine what defined the identities of the Early Bronze Age societies in southwest Norway. In accordance with the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) I see the Bronze Age societies as something that cannot exist independently from the individuals of whom it is compromised, but individuals are always imbedded within larger groups, and it is the actions of these groups constituted by pre-conditioned practice formed by habitus that I believe will resonate through material remains and enable us to better comprehend the identities of groups in the Early Bronze Age (see section 3.2).

The burial mounds are an ideal platform to address the issues of identity construction. Situated along the southwest coast, these grand, man-made monuments that materialised at the beginning of period II (ca. 1500 BCE) are seen as highly structured rituals reflecting the social. A funeral gives direct access to an individual in prehistory. Nevertheless, it is still the living members of society who imprint their habitual practice on the dead. I argue that this enables us to observe distinctions or similarities of a constructed group identity (e.g. Brück 2004; Hansen 2012).

Burial mounds have long exerted a strong attraction on scholars of archaeology (e.g. Christie 1842b; Bendixen 1877; Worsaae 1881; Montelius 1885; Shetelig 1925; Brøgger

1925b; Petersen 1926; Møllerop 1963a; Säfvestad 1993; Goldhahn 2006). However, little research has focused on the construction of identity. The burial mound has often been used as an element to enable other research questions, be it economic relations (e.g. Solberg 1994) or cosmology and ritual (e.g. Larsen 1997).

In studying the multifaceted composition of the Early Bronze Age burial mounds of Etne, Karmøy, Jæren and Lista I want to look at what defined these societies, and how they defined themselves. Were they heavily influenced by southern Scandinavia and the rest of Europe, or can we find independent societies, eager to form their own identity and social norms?

I will also focus on a current issue in the Bronze Age discourse. Research methods appear to be locked in a tension, or dualism between local perspectives and 'grand-narrative' perspectives (Prescott 1994:88-89), the latter emphasised by works of Kristian Kristiansen (e.g. Kristiansen 1998b; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; see also Engedal 2002). The aim will be to break free from this tension, bringing forth my research of local Bronze Age mounds and putting them into a 'grand-narrative' perspective, creating a dialectic discourse between the local and interregional (Prescott and Glørstad 2012:5-6; Armstrong Oma 2012:71; Prescott 2012a).

1.1 Aims and Intentions

The aim of my thesis will be twofold:

- How can we trace collective identities in regional burial practices, and how have external relations influenced them?
- Create a dialectic discourse between the local and interregional relationship, through seeing the local burial mounds in southwest Norway in a greater perspective, i.e. in relation to southern Scandinavia and other external influences.

1.2 Chronology and Line of Demarcation

Chronology is the backbone of social interpretation. Without a relative chronological line, debates about social differentiation would become speculative, and prehistoric archaeology as we know it today would not exist (Vandkilde 2007a:22). This thesis will concentrate on the Early Bronze Age, the first of Oscar Montelius' two phases (Montelius 1885). Today, the Early Bronze Age is generally divided into three subdivisions, concentrated between 1700 – 1100 BCE (Vandkilde 1996; Randsborg 1996; Vandkilde, et al. 1996).

Social implications from the preceding period (the Late Neolithic) are important for the understanding, and formation of the Bronze Age. Social and material distinctions that are relevant for this study will therefore be diachronically implemented. To include the Late Neolithic as part of the Bronze Age has been a subject of recurring discussions (e.g. Solberg 1994:111; Vandkilde 2007b:80), often characterised through changes in the material compared to earlier periods (e.g. Prescott 1991b:43). Others only see the change as part of the social structure in society (Lekberg 2005; Artursson 2005:39). I see both social and technological influences, i.e. metallurgy, agriculture (e.g. Prescott 1991a:80-81; Vandkilde 1996:190; Melheim 2006b:32-34), in a complicated causality that would have formed the premise for Bronze Age societies.

Table 1: Chronology

Period	LN I	LN II	**EBA IA**	**EBA IB**	**EBA II**	**EBA III**	LBA IV	LBA V	LBA VI
Time (BCE)	2350 – 1950	1950 – 1700	**1700 – 1600**	**1600 – 1500**	**1500 – 1300**	**1300 – 1100**	1100 – 900	900 – 700	700 – 500

The geographical focus will be on Etne, Karmøy, Jæren and Lista. This choice is based on the demarcation of the earth-constructed barrow and the fact that very little research has encompassed all of the above regions in a combined study. Cairns exist in the region as well, and will be included in my analysis, but it is the earthen barrows that distinguish the southwest coast from other regions in Norway. Material from the region of Thy, in Denmark will be used for reference, as the construction of burial mounds and artefacts there share similar traits with the southwest coast of Norway.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

The thesis has been divided into three parts. Part I consists, together with this introduction, of a presentation and discussion of previous research (Chapter 2), a theoretical and methodological framework (Chapter 3), and a short presentation of the topography (Chapter 4). Chapter 2 will present previously established theories and discourses in Bronze Age research and highlight the relevance of this study. Chapter 3 moves on to an introductory overview of my theoretical and methodological implementations. In Chapter 4 I will present a short overview of the landscape in the selected areas.

Part II consists of my material and analysis. I will begin by placing the burial mounds in a geographical context before implementing the methodological framework. In Chapter 5 I will start by presenting and contextualizing a selection of burial mounds with the best-documented information, starting with Etne farthest north, before moving south to Karmøy, Jæren and Lista. The analysis (Chapter 6) will be divided into a selection of subdivisions; landscape, construction, cairns, treatment of the deceased, gender, and artefacts. The study of identity is a multivarious one, and the analysis will reflect this. I have therefore chosen to include a variety of contributing elements that could have influenced the construction of identity in the past.

Figure 1: Overview of central places discussed in this present thesis.

Part III includes the discussion and concluding remarks (Chapter 7). The discussion presents the compiled data from part II and relates it to the construction of identity in the context of the research aims in section 1.1. To conclude, sections 7.3 and 7.4 provides a short presentation of my results and concluding remarks.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Bronze Age research in Norway has seen a variety of different theoretical innovations and interpretations, ranging from a relatively traditional culture-historical approach to more dynamic interpretations in a processual and post-processual episteme. To place this thesis in a research historical context requires a presentation of some of the established norms, theories and discourses that have previously figured in Bronze Age research. The main focus will be on the interpretations of burial mounds in southwest Norway, with a particular emphasis on how burial mounds have been addressed and interpreted to understand cultural identities. Secondly, past and on-going debates in southern Scandinavia must be taken into account in order to understand cultural impacts across Scandinavia, and also the culture dualism debate that has governed over Bronze Age research in Norway.

2.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BRONZE AGE

During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century identity and ethnicity were generally understood as something internally constituted and permanent (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996:4). This is reflected in the excavation of burial mounds, where the representativeness of material remains was understood as cultural distinctiveness (e.g. Childe 1956). The roots to this view can be said to lie in antiquarianism, a discipline that developed in Europe in the 18th century, with an interest in lost curious objects, often paralleled with nationalistic ideals (Kristiansen 1981; Prescott 1994:89). A nationalist discourse is central to the understanding of identity during this period, in the way that culture is closely linked to nationalist ideologies and ethnocentricity (Díaz-Andreu 1996:48). As a consequence, identity can be interpreted as a construct within national borders, during this era. This is reflected through extensive excavations at the turn of the 20th century, which Egil Bakka (1993:97) has defined as "the age of mound excavation" in Norwegian archaeology.

In Rogaland priests, teachers and military officers dominated the archaeological excavations (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:36). Burial mounds along the coast of southwest Norway were excavated in large numbers, unearthing many of today's most precious objects from the Bronze Age. However, as a result of brisk, fast-moving excavations, important contextual information was lost (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:36). Yet, in the midst of antiquarianism there was also an appreciation for scientific advancement. In relation to nationalistic ideas, this can be seen as a development towards another discourse, founded in

enlightenment beliefs and philosophies. Both discourses merged into what we today call a traditional archaeological discipline.

Wilhelm Frimann Koren Christie (1778-1849) was among the first to pursue a more serious archaeological discipline in Norway. He was also the first to establish a Bronze Age in Norway, using the Three-Age System by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, alas interpreting it as a period after the Iron Age (Christie 1842b; Prescott 1994:89-90). Likewise, for the Danish archaeologist Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821-1885) establishing an archaeological discipline was imperative (Kristiansen 1981:23). He reinterpreted Christie's work using stricter methodological approaches such as seriation, stratification, and representation. Excluding the southwest coast, he argued that Norway never had a Bronze Age (Prescott 1994:90; Nordenborg Myhre 2004:36). Overall, the Scandinavian peninsulas' role was marginalised in relation to the European Bronze Age. For example, Jæren is mentioned as a place with a few mounds that most likely are results of immigration from Jutland (Worsaae 1881:72). These ideas are rooted in evolutionistic concepts, shaped by the enlightenment period. Even in C. J. Thomson's time, the knowledge of bronze and iron were seen as introductions either by successive waves of immigration, or as a result of "intercourse with other nations" (Trigger 2006:129). The construction of identities is seen as internally homogenous, with the possibility of change, only accepted through force or integration. Moreover, the material is seen in a pre-conditioned framework, without possibility to transform meaning or idea within different social contexts. Yet, within this discourse a debate evolved. Borrowing a concept from Kristian Kristiansen (2004), one could describe it as romanticism contra enlightenment, or simply as a debate of culture dualism (e.g. Brøgger 1925a; Bakka 1973; Johansen 1986; Prescott 1988:68; Bakka 1993:90; Johansen 2000:13; Prescott 2012a:217).

2.2 THE DUAL CULTURE DEBATE

There is a recurring tension in Bronze Age research, between heterogeneity and homogeneity, through which material remains are used as attributes to understand identity. Despite not discussing identity in the same terms as we do today, cultures were understood as both shifting and situational. Haakon Shetelig (1877-1955) can be seen as an advocator of much of Christie's work. Although using similar methodological approaches as Worsaae, Shetelig came to the conclusion that Norway had an authentic Bronze Age (Prescott 1994:91). He interpreted the material remains as continuous throughout the Bronze Age, where both luxurious ornamented items and simple everyday objects expressed a common cultural origin

(Shetelig 1922:355; 1925:81-83). Even though Shetelig admits a lesser concentration of bronzes than what is found in southern Scandinavia, he argued that other aspects of the Bronze Age society needed to be addressed, among them the burial mounds (Shetelig 1922:356; 1925:90). These ideas can be interpreted in a culture-historical episteme, claiming cairns and earthen barrows belonged to a common European world of ideas, originating from the Mediterranean, *ex oriente lux* (Shetelig 1925:78, 96, 99).

In this tradition one sees culture or identity as spreading throughout Europe by migration and diffusion, eventually arriving in Scandinavia. Consequently, material remains are seen in a homogenous similarity, encompassing, rather than differentiating. Thus, burial mounds become a new element on the Scandinavian peninsula, reflecting a society that was drawn into a general European development of the periods burial customs (Shetelig 1925:89; Nordenborg Myhre 2004:38). Such ideas are often an attempt to tie together the regional and interregional, as opposed to national separateness (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996:15). Shetelig argues therefore against culture dualism, drawing inspiration from evolutionistic approaches, claiming that Bronze Age societies in Norway developed from a large spatial order in Europe. This stands in contrast to Anton Wilhelm Brøgger (1884-1951), who has often been portrayed as Shetelig's opposite (e.g. Bakka 1993:90; Prescott 1994:93).

Brøgger (1925c:18) argued that the bronzes found in Norway merely were shallow representations, only found in the upper layers of society, and then limited to Lista, Jæren and Karmøy. Yet, instead of denying a Bronze Age altogether, Brøgger introduced the term Stone-Bronze Age, claiming artefacts of stone, bone and flint were still in use well into the Bronze Age and Iron Age (Brøgger 1925b:104, 130; 1925c:19; see also Gjessing 1944). His interpretation of cultural impacts was more radical than Shetelig, and is reflected in the title of his book; *The Norwegian people in prehistory* (1925b) (translation by author). The burial mounds along the coast of Lista, Jæren and Karmøy were in his view, part of a southern Scandinavian Bronze Age, not seen elsewhere in Norway. He envisioned a cultural border between earth-constructed barrows and cairns, and claimed cairns were more poorly equipped, usually containing objects of stone, compared to the wealthier earthen barrows along the southwest coast (Brøgger 1925b:105, 207). A dual culture theory sprung from this, between a hunter-gatherer population buried in cairns and an agrarian society buried in earth-constructed barrows along the coast of southwest Norway (Brøgger 1925b:207). Christopher Prescott (1994:94) describes Brøgger's view as materialistic oriented. Material remains that previously had been held marginal became significant and economy, environment, and technology began to play important interpretive roles. Brøgger did not deny external

influences, but was critical to its impact, and argued that cairns were local interpretations of a southern Scandinavian Bronze Age (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:39). Thus, in Brøgger's (e.g. 1925b, c) works on the Nordic Bronze Age, cultures are representative with borders. Identity becomes ontological, based on materialistic distinction. A similar attitude towards materialism can be seen in Anathon Bjørn's (1897-1939) work. He shared many of Brøgger's views, claiming only parts of Norway had an authentic Bronze Age (Bjørn 1926). This was also true for Gutorm Gjessing (1906-1979). However, Gjessing (1943:137; 1944:24) argued societies outside of Lista, Jæren and Karmøy still lived in a Stone Age, but were living on pastoralism as well as hunting. This was supported through new archaeological material, found in settlement layers in caves and rock shelters (Gjessing 1943; Nordenborg Myhre 2004:39; see also Prescott 1991a).

Recent works have also incorporated a materialistic perception of cultural identity. Ørjan Engedal (2010) argues in his dissertation that in order to understand cultures in northwest Scandinavia, the material must be approached as a plastic extension of the human mind. This seems to derive from a frustration with an archaeological discipline that has drifted away from its main source, the material. Adopting an actor-network theory, the material is deprived of any structure of the social, and similarities in type do not relate with common ideas of cultures, however, they are seen as individual acting entities (Engedal 2010:11-12, 21). This approach does not concern itself with the human interpretation and subjective identification of artefacts. The questions get reversed, e.g. "what did bronze do during the Bronze Age?" (Engedal 2010:21).

Engedal's work stands in contrast to Egil Bakka (1926-1985), whose work is much more subject oriented. Like Shetelig, he questions if find frequency alone could support a different culture on Lista, Jæren and Karmøy (Bakka 1993:91). Bakka positions himself in a cultural-evolutionary tradition, emphasising environmental factors as pivotal influences on society (Prescott 1994:95). According to Prescott (1994:95), Bakka's main response to problems is through source criticism. Bakka demonstrates a natural hesitation towards data, claiming the relatively large find frequency on the southwest coast is, in part, a result of selective choice by archaeologists, but mainly on account of how mounds are placed in the landscape, i.e. destroyed in modern times by extensive building, and agrarian activity (Bakka 1993:97; see also Larsen 1996:27). Bakka interprets the rich concentration of bronzes and barrows on the southwest coast as indications of a powerful chiefdom society. These societies are recognised as homogenously bounded, and continuous entities with southern Scandinavia (Bakka 1963). However, the construction of mounds and the successive power that these

chiefdom-societies held, were to a certain extent, a result from the large local areas of arable land (Bakka 1993:111-112). Placing Bakka in a cultural-evolutionary episteme together with Shetelig is therefore reasonable (Prescott 1994:96). However, he is also clearly influenced by works of Brøgger and Gjessing, seeing culture through internal elements, and adaptation to the local environment. He interprets the development of a Bronze Age society both through external and internal elements, approaching a more dialectic mode of interpretation.

Lise Nordenborg Myhre (2004) has also tried to adapt a more dialectic discourse. She imagines the Bronze Age along the southwest coast in a "thirding" perspective. Challenging established theories, she argues that the Bronze Age in Norway needs to be addressed in its own terms, drawing inspiration from both Shetelig's ideas as well as Brøgger's culture dualism. In the end, she envisions graves, and rock art in a maritime production of space, developed by elements from both north and south (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:222). Underpinning this interpretation is the idea that humans and non-humans are involved in a network of heterogeneous relations, an approach often referred to as symmetric archaeology (e.g. Olsen 2003, 2010). In relation, it is argued by Anne Lene Melheim (2012b:4) that studies during the last two decades have tended to focus on myth and ritual construction. This is reminiscent in the handful of master's theses that have focused on the burial mound in southwest Norway (e.g. Ringstad 1986; Larsen 1996). I. Cecilie Larsen's (1996) thesis interprets the burial mounds in Jæren as *axis mundi*, a source for understanding the religious cosmos of the Early Bronze Age. She sees the material in graves in a collective symbolism, representing ritual deposits, rather than artefacts of the individual. In this respect Silje Hauge's thesis (2007) on the burial mounds on Lista stand out, as it focuses on how power structures and social differentiations are upheld or changed through materiality. Her theoretical framework is Bourdieu's theories on symbolic power (Bourdieu 1996), enabling her to approach a more active interpretation of the Bronze Age society, where the structure of the elite is seen in dynamic social relations, rather than a fixed relationship of peer-polity interaction (Hauge 2007:16-18).

2.3 Conceptualizing the Burial Mound

John M. O'Shea (1996:8) argues that most contemporary research on funerary remains can be traced back to a series of pioneering work by Lewis Binford (1971) and Arthur Saxe (1970).

> At the most fundamental level, Binford and Saxe demonstrates two basic premises: (1) that there is a systematic relationship between the overall configuration and complexity of

> funerary practices and the configuration and complexity of the society at large; i.e., that funerary practices do not vary independently of the overall structure and conditions of the society at large; and (2) that the specific treatment any individual receives in death is consistent with the social roles and positions that the individual occupied in life (O'Shea 1996:8).

This thesis will reflect some of the ideas by Binford and Saxe. However, in their attempt to focus solely on the individuals and individual status, they effectively ignore communal group identities. Their emphasis on the ethnographic record ignores the complex range of information encoded within funerary activities and neglects the archaeological record and its effect on the social reconstruction of society (O'Shea 1996:8-9).

Among the few who have specialised in Bronze Age burials in southwest Norway, Odmund Møllerop's (1922-2006) article from 1963 still stands as one of the most comprehensive studies on the subject. Here he provides an extensive overview over the many burial mounds and finds in the area, and adapts a similar approach to Bakka and Shetelig, "[…] it is his opinion that the burial mounds should be seen in a wider geographical and cultural context" (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:40). Moreover, he divided the burial mounds into three separate groups, each with their own distinct geographical source of inspiration (Møllerop 1963b:41):

1. Cairns; an earth-free mound of stones. A Scandinavian-Baltic phenomenon, with roots back to the Late Stone Age.
2. Cairns with a thin cover of earth. Møllerop has more difficulties explaining this group, but assumes it is a local fusion between eastern cairns and earth-constructed barrows from Jutland.
3. Traditional earth-constructed barrows with a central cairn of stone, covering the grave chamber. The source of inspiration is Jutland.

These three groups are still acknowledged, and used in archaeological research, albeit his hypothesis on eastern influence is not (e.g. Larsen 1996:41-44; Nordenborg Myhre 2004:40; Hauge 2007:34-35). Møllerop shares a similar attitude towards local environmental factors such as Bakka. Being critical to Bjørn's interpretations of burial mounds, where he claimed that the high density of stone in the earth-constructed barrows were a local alternative to burial mounds from Jutland (Møllerop 1963b:42), Møllerop sees this as a natural result from the stone and sand found in Jæren's soil.

Following up on the burial mound as a common European world of ideas, Møllerop suggested contact beyond Denmark. Connecting Rogaland directly with South England, Western France and Ireland. These interpretations are based on constructional elements of the grave, or more precisely the ornamentation found on the grave slabs (Møllerop 1963b:46-47). He sees the ornamentation in relation to '*boynegruppen*', a group with origins from the Iberian Peninsula during the Neolithic. This group used concentric circles, spirals, cup-marks, crossmarks and other abstract images to decorate their gravestones. These marks are similar to those found in northern Scandinavia during the Early Bronze Age (Møllerop 1963b:45-47; see also Fett and Fett 1941:128; 1979). A temporal gap makes this parallel challenging. However, Sverre Marstrander (1910-1986) interprets the ornamentations on the flagstones found in Mjeltehaugen on Sunnmøre as representations of the Bell Beaker culture that expanded across Europe during the Late Neolithic (Marstrander 1963:319; see also Østmo 2005:69-70). Mjeltehaugen is one of the best-preserved earth-constructed barrows in Norway, and marks the border as one of the northernmost barrows (Østigård and Goldhahn 2006:43). Some have speculated if this barrow is from the Late Neolithic, basing their finds on the ornamentation alone (e.g. Østmo 2005:70), but whether it is from the Late Neolithic or the Early Bronze Age, one could consider the ornamentations as reconstructed structures from the past obtained through external influences, i.e. the Bell Beaker Culture.

Bjørn Myhre's (1972, 1980) studies on the burial mound from southwest Norway forms an alternative to other theories. In his detailed book regarding the Bronze Age on Sola and Madla, in northern Jæren, Myhre interprets burial mounds as centres for territorial influences. Based on the distribution of burial mounds in the area, Myhre speculates if Sola and Madla were divided into 11-17 political territories (Myhre 1980:87-90; see also Säfvestad 1993). Although Myhre agrees that these are hypothetical ideas, they are nevertheless interesting. If a burial mound is an indicator of family lineage, it no longer becomes a grave for one person, but a representation of a communal identity, structured and restructured throughout decades. These ideas are reminiscent of Christopher Tilley's work (1994). He sees burial mounds as an entangled part of the landscape, historically constituted in a temporal space. Instead of being a subject of knowledge the burial mound becomes an object of knowledge that can be interpreted as social strategies or mechanisms for internal political control (Tilley 1994:204; see also Barrett 1994). Nordenborg Myhre (2004) continues in a similar tradition and visualises the burial mound as an entangled part of the landscape.

2.4 The Mound in a Maritime Perspective

The sea was a source of inspiration for Jan Petersen (1887-1967). He argued that seafaring from Jutland to Lista, over Skagerrak, was the inducement for the construction of grave monuments along the coast (Petersen 1926:158). This theory formed an alternative to other theories that connected grave monuments to the dual culture debate between an agrarian population and a hunter-gatherer culture (e.g. Brøgger 1925a; Gjessing 1944). Marstrander shared many of Petersen ideas, signifying the importance seafaring and trade had for the establishment of grave monuments. He was critical to the dual culture debate, claiming it had led to an intellectual drought, suppressing inspiration for new interpretations (Marstrander 1950:63). The connection to the sea would later become an important interpretive theory (e.g. Marstrander 1950; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Nordenborg Myhre 2004; Østmo 2005; Kvalø 2007; Østmo 2008). Nordenborg Myhre's theories share many of the same ideas as Petersen and Marstrander. She argues that an oversimplification of the demarcation between the earth-constructed barrows and cairns has governed too much of the research history. She is sceptical of differentiation between the two types of mounds, and their connection to different economic systems. She sees them together, both addressing the sea and linear movement (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:207). A problem with Nordenborg Myhre's views, as expressed by Frode Kvalø (2007:32), is her assumption that a collection of synchronic and contact related materials express social networks. Kvalø is sceptical of this 'traditional' archaeology, in that it does not reflect cultural processes related to travel. Moreover, it does not communicate or discuss how social practice is constructed through seafaring (Kvalø 2007:33). In his thesis, Kvalø (2007) attempts to see social processes intertwined in a framework of maritime realization and ritual mobilization of symbolic processes, demonstrating an asymmetrical relationship between social communities in southwest Norway. In this, he sees the ship as a symbol of group identity, intertwined both through ritual and practical experiences. The burial mound is seen as a symbolic communication for legitimizing the social power of the elite (Kvalø 2007:43).

2.5 Crossing Skagerrak

In Denmark, the Bronze Age has been a well-established area of research. When looking at the Danish material I will mainly focus on developments in Thy, a region on the northwest coast of Jutland. This is due to the regions traditional links with southwest Norway. The area is renowned for its wealthy burials, and it is estimated that over two thousand burial mounds

still survive from the Early Bronze Age, a density unlike anywhere else in Europe (Earle 2002:293).

The vast amount of empirical data available to archaeologists in this area has allowed them to go on in a more traditional culture-historical and processual episteme, presenting research based on distribution of artefacts and graves (Broholm 1933; Randsborg 1968; Kristiansen 1998a; Aner, et al. 2001). A large portion of the research concerned with the Bronze Age in Thy have focused on network, exchange, trade, economic resources and peer-polity interaction (e.g. Earle 1997:197-200; Hornstrup 1998; Jensen 2002; Earle 2002; Vandkilde 2004; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:207; Earle and Kristiansen 2010:219).

During the 1970's the term chiefdom became widely used to define the social organization of Late Neolithic and Bronze Age societies in Denmark, which were often defined as kin-based societies, where the social status of a person was based on his or her relationship through the genealogical distance from a senior line of descent (Earle 1997:4-8). The textbook case is Marshall Sahlins book *Social stratification in Polynesia* (1958).

In the 1980's a theoretical shift came with Structural Marxism. Archaeologists like Kristian Kristiansen (1987) and Helle Vandkilde (1996) saw social organization in a more complicated causality between material conditions, social structure, and ideology (Earle 1997:9). In the book *From Stone to Bronze* (1996) Vandkilde maintains that the Late Neolithic and Period IA reflect a social structure dominated by collective groups, and group hierarchy. An increase in metal production emerged during Period IB, along with an individual social elite with a warrior ethos. External relations now lie with high-ranking individuals of the social elite. During this period it is believed Denmark was divided into two zones, each demonstrating their own unique identity towards the other (Vandkilde 1996:306). After 1500 BCE these institutions can be said to cumulate into a general Nordic Bronze Age, made up of burial mounds, a distinct Nordic material culture and two-aisled house constructions (Kristiansen 2010:170).

Lately, more 'social', and theoretical interpretations have been published (Vandkilde 1999; Hansen 2007, 2012). Mette Roesgaard Hansen's article *Expressing identity through ritual in the Early Bronze Age* (2012), takes on the issue of identity construction of male and female burials in Thy. She argues that identity needs to be treated in a theoretical pluralism (Hansen 2012:56; see also Prescott 1995:21). The actions of the bereaved are here portrayed as conscious and intentional, where the homogeneous material found in graves in specific areas are expressed as a distinct group identity (Hansen 2012:57-58). Hansen does entertain the idea that a similar approach might be used on the Bronze Age material in southwest

Norway, but concludes that the material is to shallow for an extensive analysis (Hansen 2012:68).

2.6 Summary and Preliminary Ideas

The previous sections have provided a glimpse into the history of Bronze Age research. However, it has also displayed a divide in the theoretical interpretations of the past. On one hand we have Brøgger's ideas that focus on internal material developments (e.g. Brøgger 1925b; see also Gjessing 1944), and on the other we have Shetelig, among others, who draw on external dynamic influences (e.g. Shetelig 1925; Møllerop 1963b; Bakka 1993). Shetelig bases his work on a more rigid chronological framework and stresses features toward a general European development. Brøgger, on the other hand, is more interested in human adaptation to different ecological zones (Komber 1987:35). However, both seem to derive from a materialistic oriented interpretation of the past. This view has governed large parts of the research history and is also reflected in contemporary studies (e.g. Aakvik 2000; Engedal 2010). Needless to say, the material will always govern archaeological interpretations of the past and so it should. Still, the burial mounds in southwest Norway have on the whole been interpreted in a fixed social framework with southern Scandinavia, based on similarities in the material record. This view is not necessarily incorrect, but simplifies the complex and entangled system that we call identity. As argued by Philip L. Kohl (1981:89) "The term [materiality] signifies a philosophical view of reality that accords greater casual weight to a society's behavior than to its thoughts, reflections, or justification of its behavior" (emphasis by author).

Kohl's argument is important for this study, as I argue that societies' thoughts and reflections of themselves and others are visible in the material remains, including constructional elements of the mound. In this I see the grave as an important element, where social identification of a society is expressed by the bereaved. This not only defines the individual, but also the collective identity of the group. The idea that symbols are structured and restructured entities, intertwined in the social identification of a collective group, is not new in Bronze Age research (e.g. Kvalø 2007; Hauge 2007). Some of my research will use established research methods. However, few researchers are concerned with the construction of identity in its entirety. Identity is often seen as a peripheral by-product to explore economic power structures in society (e.g. Solberg 1994) or to present individuals in prehistory. Hansen's research on the subject (2007, 2012) is a fresh contribution to the discussion of identity in the Bronze Age, but her views on the material in southwest Norway

have not been thoroughly explored. I will implement a similar framework on the concept of identity as Hansen, but the theoretical and methodological approach will be different. As argued by Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:241): "Studies of barrow construction hold great potential for understanding the meaning of burial rituals, but are unfortunately rare". I see the rituals of the dead as a key component to better comprehend the construction of a group identity, but whether it is a local identity, interregional, or both, will be analysed and discussed in the upcoming chapters.

3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Archaeology consists of a diversity of opposing theoretical approaches. As pointed out by Trigger (2006:497) some may claim that this diversity threatens the credibility of the discipline. Although, as argued by Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson (2003:242-246), if archaeology is to be an independent discipline, archaeologists should be free to forge the links with those disciplines that best enable them to explain the archaeological data. For this study, the theoretical framework will rely on sociological interpretations. This is a natural choice as the concept of identity is deeply embedded in sociological tradition. Inspired by Siân Jones' book *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (1997), and Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), I will argue that the construction of identity is based on shifting, situational and subjective identification of self and others. Moreover, it is formed both through daily practices and historical experiences, but can also be exposed to transformation and discontinuity (Jones 1997:13-14). Before this is elaborated, the concept of identity needs to be addressed, as it is a term used and incorporated throughout the present study.

3.1 DEFINING IDENTITY

Identity, to know "who's who" and therefore "what's what" is an important concept in modern social sciences. It is a multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our place in it (Jenkins 2004:5). Identity derives from the Latin word *idem,* which means "the same". This sameness has developed different meanings over the years. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines identity as: "The sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition of being a single individual; the fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else; individuality, personality". Both John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (2008 [1690]), and David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* (2000 [1739]) talk about identity as the individuality of a person, which is something internal and permanent. Later perspectives would include Sigmund Freud who introduced the term *identification* as something that described the process by which the infant internalises external persons in the process of socialization (Rowlands 2007:61; see also Bourdieu 1977:78-93).

Transmitting this concept to archaeology can be challenging. Being a discipline of both subjective and objective knowledge we are always in danger of exposing our own subjective interpretations of identity onto past societies. It is important to be aware that our

own concepts of identity does not necessarily reflect, or hold the same meaning as those of prehistoric societies (Meskell 2002:293). Hans-Georg Gadamer argues that everyone has a historically effected consciousness, which derives from one's life and culture. Interpretations are therefore established through a fusion of horizons, which involves a circular relationship between oneself and that which is studied (Gadamer 2010 [1960]). Gadamer's hermeneutic circle will undoubtedly always be part of the archaeological cognitive process and therefore some subjective interpretations are prerequisite. However, to achieve objectivity is to be pursued, an intention Bourdieu (1977:72) has called *methodological objectivism*. "[…] It is a necessary moment in all research, by the break with primary experience and the construction of objective relations which it accomplishes, demands its own supersession" (Bourdieu 1977:72). To accomplish this, we must escape from the regular structure *opus operatum*, to the *modus operandi*, the principal of production. Bourdieu argues that this is possible with the *theory of practice*, which is the precondition for establishing a dialectic of incorporation and objectification (see section 3.2) (Bourdieu 1977:72).

The concept of identity has always been an important descriptive term in archaeological research, but it was not until processual archaeology started to ask the questions *how* and *why* that identity started to take a different direction (Jones 1997:27). Before this, the culture-historical approach depended on a framework of systematization and classification. Cultures were systematically ordered in space and time, depending on typology and context (Olsen 1997:31-32). This resulted in a mosaic of different cultures, and laid the foundation for archaeological research today. However, it only saw identity as *primordialistic*, something deep, internal, and permanent, not unlike Locke and Hume's notion of the term. It is argued that within a given group, cultural practices and beliefs conform to prescriptive idealised norms of behaviour. These norms, or rules, are maintained by regular interaction within the group, and will therefore follow the succeeding generations (Jones 2007:45). Gordon Childe (1956:8) argued that cultures would produce and reproduce a socially approved standard type. In this tradition, interaction with different groups that share a relatively homogenous material can be explained as a similar culture, whereas discontinuities in the material culture can be explained as socially different (Jones 2007:45).

All this changed when Fredrik Barth published his edited collection, *Ethnic groups and boundaries* (1969), in which he challenged many of the accepted concepts on identity and ethnicity. He argued that ethnic distinctions do not depend on absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are often the reason why social systems are constructed (Barth 1969:10). Thus, identity becomes a subjective process of classification, which does not

necessarily correlate with cultural commonalities (Barth 1969:10; Jones 2007:47; Jenkins 2004:19). Barth's theory developed from a frustration over how anthropology had not problematised how groups had maintained their distinctiveness or reproduced themselves (Jenkins 2004:96). He argued that social identification was a dialectic process of external and internal relations and categorisations. Adopting this theory, processual archaeology saw a shift in its analytical methods. It no longer became constrained by *primordialism*, a permanent way of seeing things. It opened for a more dynamic theory, *instrumentalism* (Banks 1996:39), where the constructions of identity were fluid self-defining systems with political and economic relations. It recognised that there rarely is a straightforward correlation between cultural similarities and ethnic identity (Johannesen 2004:162; Jones 2007:48). This view is also reflected in the works of Marcel Mauss (1954) who focuses on the reciprocal practice of gift exchange, and argues that different groups are part of a common exchange pattern that is built into a shared social structure between different ethnic identities (Mauss 1954:77-78). In this sense, groups are constructed through a shared interest, be it economical or sociological, not through a shared 'materiality'.

However, in archaeology, material and subject have often been seen as two opposing but necessary forces (e.g. Kristiansen 2004), one is fixed (material), the other one is fluid (subject). This is comparable to that of primordialism and instrumentalism. To build a bridge between this dichotomy, I argue in the section below that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977) can be applied to the understanding of identity construction of Bronze Age societies in southwest Norway.

3.2 TOWARDS A THEORY OF PRACTICE

The social life of people is made up of routine actions. Everyday tasks like preparing dinner, going to work and driving your car are actions that rarely need reflection; they seem self-evident and become structures. This is also true when people interact. Daily behavioral rules can be expressed or agreed on silent contracts, both unconscious or semiconscious (Johannesen 2004:168). This is part of what Bourdieu defines as a theory of practice. "Practice theory seeks to find a path between structuralism and materialism that allow for both structure and action to be determining – actions are simultaneously structured and structuring" (Stutz 2006:95). This implies that an agent's (the individual's) practice emerges from structured social relations but also has the ability to reshape it. This is possible through *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977:72-73). Habitus is explained by Bourdieu as "[…] the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu 1977:78). In other

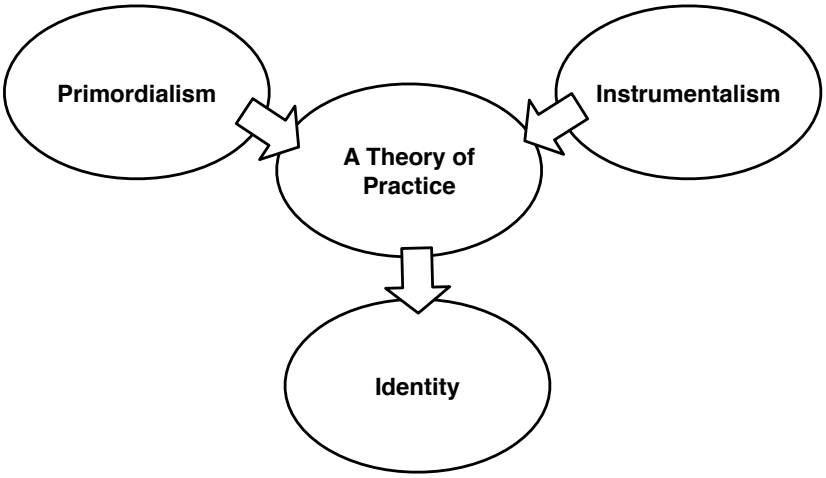


Figure 2: Model demonstrating the theoretical process in which identity is constructed through a dialectic relationship between primordialism and instrumentalism, mediated by a theory of practice.

words, habitus is explained as being 'structuring structures' and 'structured structures', it shapes, and becomes shaped by social practices (Jones 1997:117). It is an internal social discourse, which can also be shared by a social group.

Habitus is also determined by past conditions. Bourdieu calls this the 'forgetting of history', an unconscious part of us that has developed since we were formed (Bourdieu 1977:78-79). Identity thus becomes a dispositional identity, it shows limits in reflexivity, and becomes embedded in embodied habitual social practices (Bottero 2010:5-6).

Bourdieu's theory is described by many as an ongoing attempt to overcome the everlasting sociological dichotomy between a Durkheimian constituted structuralism (e.g. Østerberg 2003:15), and ontological individualism, found in theoretical discourses like phenomenology (e.g. Postone, et al. 1993:4). It is habitus' ability to work as a mediator between structure and action that also makes it applicable to identity construction. A recurring problem in subjective instrumentalist approaches is that it fails to resolve the relationship between an agent's perceptions of identity and the cultural context (Jones 2007:48). Objective primordialistic approaches on the other hand are not concerned with external political or economic influences. It rather sees identity as something permanent and essential, which is directly observable in the cultural context (Banks 1996:39). Applying habitus as a mediator between these dichotomies creates a duality, where the embodied internal habitual process is not just controlled by external forces i.e. instrumentalism. Neither is it primordial, in that it is passive and internal. It is a structuring structure and structured structure, shaped by social practice (Postone, et al. 1993:4). A society with a shared identity (shared habitus), will therefore express themselves through shared symbolic resources.

Moreover, the ritual actions in a society become embodied reproductions, *a priori* for the living (O'Shea 1996:10; Hansen 2012:56).

Another equally important term presented by Bourdieu is *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977:166). Doxa is that which is taken for granted (Bourdieu 1977:166). These are elements in everyday-life that are self-evident and go without saying. Created by habitus, doxa becomes to such an extent embedded in the social life of people that they take it for granted, and subsequently it cannot be questioned (Naum 2008:65). Doxa is only fully revealed to a society when negatively constituted by the constitution of a *field of opinion*, e.g. faced with external pressure (Bourdieu 1977:168-169; see also Barth 1969:10). Doxa is an important argument against critics who argue that similarities in identity do not necessarily correlate with a shared habitus (e.g. Yelvington 1991:158). This is because a shared identity is created not only through subliminal similarities, but also through a consciousness of difference i.e. a break with doxa (Jones 1997:94).

When doxa becomes questioned, it results in the establishment of either *orthodoxy* or *heterodoxy* (Bourdieu 1977:169). "[…] orthodoxy attempting to deny the possibility of

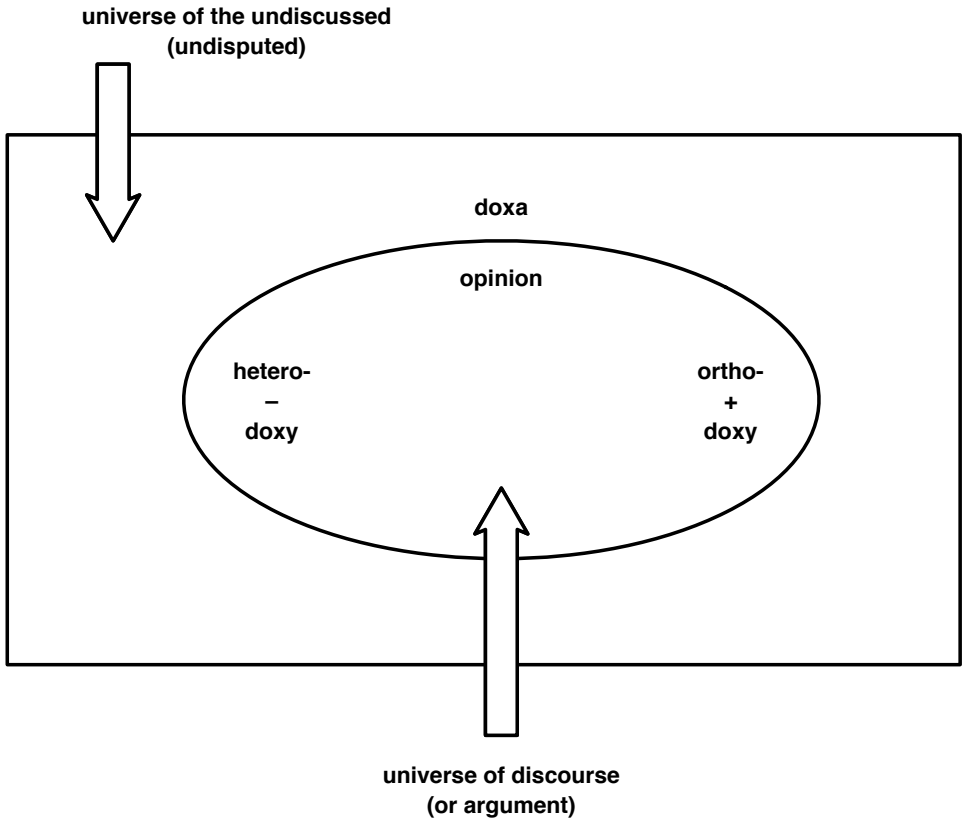


Figure 3: Visualization of the social universe. Field of opinion, either through heterodoxy or orthodoxy. After Bourdieu 1977:168.

alternatives at a conscious level, and heterodoxy acknowledging the existence of a choice between different forms of knowledge and their evaluation through explicit critiques" (Jones 1997:94-95). Ergo, a heterodox knowledge would be presumed if a society intentionally constructed ritual placements in graves to form a distinct group identity. This will not necessarily be expressed in the material itself, but in artefact placement and other constructional aspects (see section 3.3).

Orthodoxy can be explained as the imperfect substitute of doxa (Bourdieu 1977:169). The dominant class in society can use orthodoxy through material and symbolic means, attempting to create a social structure. For example, the elite can use orthodoxy through burial mounds, displaying symbolic knowledge, while maintaining their political power. Over time, heterodox and orthodox knowledge will be reproduced, and consequently it becomes part of a structured disposition of habitus. Thus, identity becomes part of an ongoing process that is both objectified knowledge and embodied subjective knowledge (Jones 1997:97). Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:60) explains it like this:

> […] ethnic consciousness enters a dialectical relationship with the structures that underlie it: once ethnicity impinges upon experience as an (apparently) independent principle of social organization, it provides a powerful motivation for collective activity. And this, by turn, must perforce realize an everyday world dominated by ethnic groups and relations, thereby reproducing the very social condition that gave rise to ethnic consciousness in the first place.

3.3 Applying a Theory of Practice

To apply the theoretical framework outlined above, a practical methodology must be presented. In section 3.2 it was argued that identity is constructed through a multifocal relationship, where the dualism between instrumentalism and primordialism is mediated by the habitual structure in society. When presenting the methodological approach it is equally important that the duality between theory and method is in a reciprocal relationship. In its most stripped down form, methodology can be understood as the means by which theory is adapted to the empirical data (Hastrup 1999:154). To do this, the present study will divide the empirical data into a multi-staged analysis that incorporates various aspects of a person's life, although, as pointed out in the literature review, earlier excavations have left us with a contextually limited reference material. However, I have identified a handful of elements that I consider both general and consistent enough to uncover social structures in the Early Bronze Age (see section 3.3.2). As Andrew Gardner (2011:17) points out: "Identity is not about abstract concepts or symbols of identity, for representation and labelling are themselves

practices. The activities that people undertake […] are the mechanisms by which people are categorised by others, or themselves, as they interact". One of my main goals in the analysis (Chapter 6) is to map out these activities that reflect the habitual practice of a group. In my opinion this is best done through a multivariate, quantitative study that is able to trace patterns in larger numbers.

The study is inter-regional in scope, spanning from Etne in the north to Lista in the south. It has been important to include every known area with earth-constructed barrows from the Early Bronze Age, as previous research has had a tendency to focus on a single region, or based their studies on the best-documented burial mounds, which in my opinion puts us at risk to misinterpret – or miss out altogether – important elements that reflects social differentiation. The study is also diachronic, analysing the different periods while acknowledging the social and material implications of the preceding phases.

3.3.1 THE DATA

As mentioned in the section above, it is important to include every earth-constructed barrow in the southwest region. This proved to be a greater challenge than first anticipated as there were to my knowledge no databases or catalogues, which incorporated every earthen barrow from southwest Norway. Nordenborg Myhres's (2004) study contributes a great deal of data in Karmøy and larger parts of Jæren, I also consulted the museum archives in Oslo, Bergen, and Stavanger, as well as published literature, and digital databases, *Askeladden* and *Unimus*. The collected material were managed and analysed in the database management system *Access*, and used in *ArcGIS* to analyse spatial relationships and distribution.

3.3.2 STRUCTURE OF ANALYSIS

The analysis is based on the theoretical concept that the agent is constrained by internal structures, social and material limitations, making his or her practice implicit to the structure at hand. However, practice is not a mechanical reaction, neither is it free will; the agent is always structured by its habitus which is determined by past conditions (Bourdieu 1977:72-73). Identity will therefore demonstrate limits in its reflexivity, and become embedded in embodied habitual social practices (Bottero 2010:5-6). When this is applied to the burial mounds in the Bronze Age, one should see a pattern of repeated practice.

Burials are made for the individual, but they are also collective rituals, originating from an accepted tradition of how one treats the dead. It is a structured collective

understanding, an *a priori* of how the ritual actions applied on the graves are prepared, including the composition of the dead and his or her artefacts. Thus, the variations or similarities found in the cist become expressions of a collective identity, based on repeated structured behaviour (e.g. O'Shea 1996:10; Hansen 2012:56).

Questions we must ask ourselves are therefore: were the rituals consequent heterodox choices, presented to ensue a local identity? And if not, are ritual constructions embodied structures, reconstructed from one generation to the next. If so, then we must try to understand when these changes occurred. If they stem from a previously recognised doxa, when did the transformation from doxa to either heterodoxy or orthodoxy occur, and how? Clues to answer these questions should be visible in the form of dramatic changes in the material remains, burial practices, and ritual constructions. I have mapped these patterns through a handful of 'themes' that are general enough to incorporate as many burial mounds as possible but at the same time having a qualitative standard. These are:

- Landscape
- Construction
- Cairn
- Treatment of the deceased
- Gender
- Artefacts

Landscape

The landscape holds a variety of elements that are important for the study of identity. It is a structure that actively affects choices of groups. These can be topographical, affecting how people travelled in the Bronze Age. There can be differences in how the landscape is perceived, local or interregional emphasis, and cosmological connotations. The placements of burial mounds and distribution patterns will be an important analytical tool to address how burial mounds were presented in the local landscape. Presumably, these were choices made by a group, and will reflect how they imagined the dead to be presented in the landscape, and to the local community.

Construction

How groups chose to build a burial mound is an action that is structured through habitus, but

it could also have been a heterodox or orthodox choice in order to differentiate themselves from another group. These choices may have changed through different periods, and can provide us with a more distinct picture of regional differences and similarities.

Cairn

The thesis will mainly focus on earth-constructed barrows. Nonetheless, the cairn is in some way intertwined in the social structure in the Early Bronze Age, and is an important contrast against the barrow. It therefore needs to be analysed and discussed as an active structure in the formation of constructed identities.

Treatment of deceased

Are there differences and changes in the treatment of the deceased? Of particular importance is the emphasis on inhumation *vis-à-vis* cremation graves, and how these have changed throughout the different periods. The treatment of the deceased displays how a group's attitude was toward the body, and concentrations of a particular burial practice in a specific area will underline a group's identity.

Gender

When studying graves one has to acknowledge gender as a primary form of distinction (Skogstrand 2006:43). Objects carry symbolic meaning, and these are inserted into a net of identities liked together by habitual codes (Díaz-Andreu 2005:22). The distribution of female and male graves will be an important tool to map social structures in groups. These can be linked to various social institutions and roles, like exogamy, warriors, priests and chiefs.

Artefacts

Artefacts are always interwoven in knowledge, social strategy and practice (Vandkilde 2008:146). Artefacts in the Bronze Age are often highly standardised; however, choice of artefact type could be linked to periods, region, and ideology. They can also underline social variations and active choices in order to express a certain type of identity. Artefacts also play an important part in the relative chronological dating of burial mounds.

4 A TOPOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

In this chapter I will give a short presentation of burial mounds and the landscape in which they are situated. The geographical demarcation is based on the construction of earthen barrows in relation to cairns found elsewhere in Norway. Cairns are also found the studied areas and will be incorporated in my analysis. They are, however, marginal compared to eastern and northern Norway where earth-constructed barrows are non-existent.

4.1 THE BURIAL MOUND – A SHORT PRESENTATION

Monumental earth-constructed barrows in southwest Norway emerged at the beginning of period II (ca. 1500 BCE). These can be seen as part of a larger Tumulus phenomenon that spanned over greater parts of northern and central Europe (Holst 2013:103). During the Late Neolithic, burials were often made up of smaller barrows or cairns. These were generally inhumations burials, but there is a gradual transition to cremation burials in the Early Bronze Age before cremation burial becomes the norm in the Late Bronze Age. Aside from their absence in monumentality the burials in the Late Neolithic display similarities with the burial mounds from the Early Bronze Age. Equally, as the earthen barrows from the Early Bronze Age demonstrate similarities with Jutland, as do the Late Neolithic graves with the Bell Beaker graves from the continent, although cairns seem to be a local constructional element, deriving from earlier periods (Kilhavn 2013:47-48).

The earthen barrows from the Thy region in Denmark are mainly built up of turf and earth with a central cist made of standing stone slabs, in other parts of Denmark oak coffins are not uncommon. In Norway the earth-constructed barrows are of a more complex composition. Cists can be divided into two general categories: cists made of standing stone slabs, or cists built in a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs. The central part of the mound is usually a cairn, covered by earth, sand or gravel (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:206). The inner cairn varies considerably in size, and some barrows are in reality cairns, covered only by a thin layer of earth. Other barrows can be categorised as composite barrows that are a mixture of both earth and stone. These mounds have been related to a hybrid construction, representing elements from both the north and the south (e.g. Møllerop 1963b). Some barrows also have a stone kerb around it, constructed as a demarcation of the complete barrow. Earthen barrows are commonly found in moraine landscapes, while cairns are mostly placed on rock and outcrops near the sea (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:207). Additionally,

though cairns exist in the investigated areas, they are mainly concentrated on the Boknafjord Islands and in Ryfylke, both of which have very few earth-constructed barrows.

4.2 ETNE

Etne is the northernmost region featured in this present study. It is a peripheral county, among networks of fjord and mountains, and holds a small concentration of earth-constructed barrows (Myhre 1972:16). Etne is situated south in the province of Hordaland, on the border with Rogaland. There have been few excavations in the area, however, Haakon Shetelig and Johannes Bøe investigated two burial mounds in 1912 and 1926 respectively (Fett 1963:15, 39). In 1969, Clifford D. Long, and later Bente Magnus Myhre excavated Garahaugen (Myhre and Myhre 1970). They are all situated on moraine ridges, overlooking the archipelago at Etnefjord. South of Etne lays the municipality Vindafjord. Several Bronze Age finds have been registered in this area, including an excavated barrow in Skeie.

4.3 KARMØY

Karmøy is the largest island in Rogaland, located in the northernmost part of the province. It is situated between the North Sea and Karmsundet, a strait that throughout history has been an important protective sailing route against the dangerous and inhospitable North Sea. The name Karmøy derives from the Old Norse word "Körmt", meaning bargeboard, in the form of shelter. However, a cross setting at the northern end of Karmsundet can temporarily create strong currents here as well, making stays at Karmøy inevitable. Naturally, these would have been favourable conditions for the establishment of a local power structure in the Early Bronze Age (Solberg 1994:122; Kvalø 2007:66). The topography of Karmøy is made up of Caledonian bedrock, but there is a distinct difference between the northeastern and southwestern part of the island (Prøsch-Danielsen and Simonsen 2000a:9). The northeast part contains metamorphosed lava and phyllite, creating fertile soil, well-suited for agrarian activity, while the granite in the southwest gives a more acid, and less fertile soil (Lundberg 1998:69-71). This is reflected in the placement of burial mounds. Cairns constitute a minority, located in the southern part of the island near the shore. Earth-constructed barrows are largely concentrated on the northeastern part of the island. There are four large moraine ridges on the island, all of which are concentrated in the north (Lundberg 1998:76).

Altogether, there are 12 registered earth-constructed barrows on Karmøy, only five cairns have been registered, of them, one can with certainty be linked to the Early Bronze Age.

4.4 JÆREN

Jæren is a district with low-lying hills, sandy plains, lakes and wetlands. It stretches along the coastline from Ogna in the south to Stavanger in the north. The low-lying part of Jæren is directly exposed to the North Sea without any protective skerries or islands. The area is covered with up to 130 metres of thick glacial deposits, making it unique in relation to the rest of West Norway. A Late Weichselian erosion caused a mosaic of glacial stratigraphy, resulting in a sub-soil of diverse fertilities well suited for agrarian activity (Semb 1962). Although, due to low relief, the coastline has been very transformative in the course of 12 000 years, with repeated transgression and regression (Prøsch-Danielsen and Simonsen 2000a:9). As a result, beach ridges have dammed up prehistoric fjords along the coast. Several grave monuments are now situated on these ridges, between the sea and costal lakes (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:67).

Jæren is the largest consecutive area in Norway with earthen barrows from the Bronze Age. Compiled data from several authors (e.g. Møllerop 1963b; Larsen 1996; Nordenborg Myhre 2004), and my own research in the topographical archive in Stavanger have revealed 56 earthen barrows and 3 cairns linked to finds. However, there are several more burial mounds that are connected to the Bronze Age based on size, construction, location, and secondary finds (cf. appendix).

4.5 LISTA

About 60 kilometres down the coast from Jæren a similar topography is found on the peninsula Lista, in the province of Vest-Agder, representing the southeastern fringe of the coastal heath section (Prøsch-Danielsen and Simonsen 2000b:109). During the Neolithic period, a change in the topography exposed the landscape, which previously had been sheltered by skerries and islands, to the North Sea. Pollen analysis has recorded massive deforestation during this period and into the Bronze Age (Prøsch-Danielsen 1995:26). Correspondingly, the archaeological material suggests a change to agriculture.

I have identified 10 burial mounds from the Early Bronze Age on Lista, three of which are likely from the Late Neolithic. Marstrander (1948) is the only professional archaeologist to have excavated a mound from the Early Bronze Age. It was excavated in

1948, on the farm Øvre Meberg. A bronze sword[1] was recovered, along with fragments of pottery and charcoal (Johansen 1986:38). A recurring problem on Lista is barrows and cairns with no finds. However, based on the construction of the mounds, empty cists, usually made up of flagstones, together with secondary burials from the Late Bronze Age, it is possible to tentatively date them to the Early Bronze Age.

[1] C27790a

PART II

MATERIAL AND ANALYSIS

5 PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL

I will now present a selection of the best-documented burial mounds in this present study. I have found it appropriate to structure this section according to geographical zones, as there are natural geological lines of demarcation between the areas, as well as differences in the archaeological material, which will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The presentation will start with Etne farthest north, and then move south to Karmøy, Jæren and Lista. The burial mounds are divided into farmsteads/localities with the exception of Jæren where I have divided the burial mounds into districts, due to the region's size. Each area will be presented with the main 'themes' from section 3.3.2 in mind. This chapter's goal is to establish an overall representation of the structural similarities in each region, which will further support the analysis in Chapter 6. I have used a compiled set of empirical data, where parts have been obtained from other studies (e.g. Lund 1934; Møllerop 1963b; Myhre 1972, 1980; Larsen 1996; Nordenborg Myhre 1998, 2004; Hauge 2007), but also from my own research in the museum archives. For a full detail of burial mounds with finds, see appendix.

Every recalibrated ^{14}C-date in this chapter has been calibrated in the latest OxCal software version 4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 2009), with the most up-to-date calibration curve IntCal 13 (Reimer, et al. 2013).

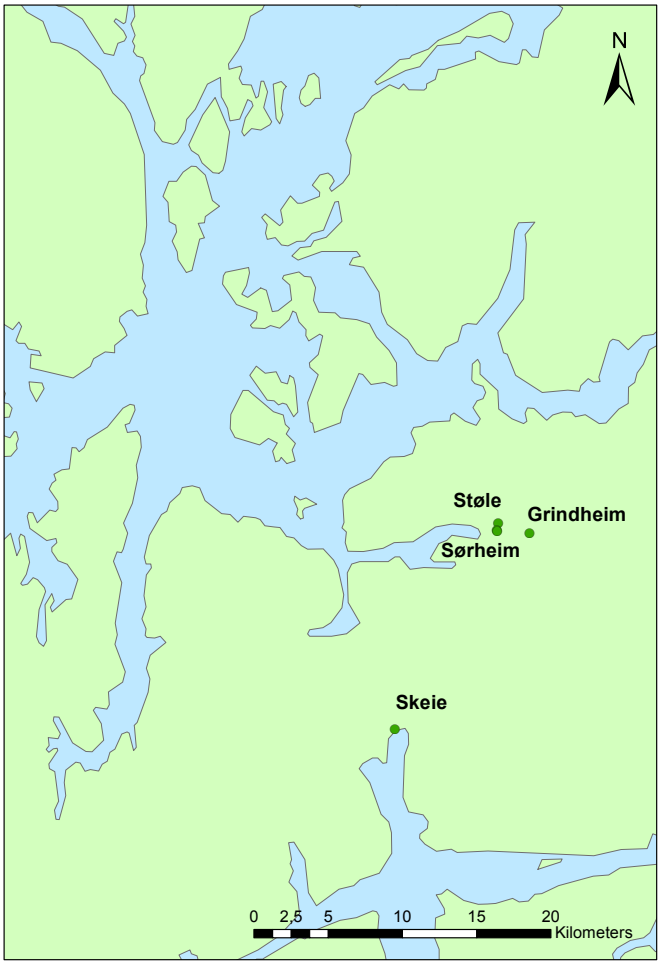


Figure 4: Distribution of burial mounds in Etne. Skeie is part of the municipality Vindafjord (cf. appendix).

5.1 ETNE

5.1.1 SØRHEIM

Garahaugen in Sørheim is part of a small concentration of earth-constructed barrows in the southern province of Hordaland. The barrow is situated on the Støle-Sørheim ridge, and was excavated in by Clifford D. Long 1969 and later that same year by Bente Magnus Myhre. It measured 20 m in diameter and 1.8 m

high. Actual height estimates were thought to be 2.5 m, as a pit at its top suggested a previous 'excavation' (Myhre 1972:13). A cross profile was excavated NW-SE (Myhre and Myhre 1970), exposing the barrow's construction, which was made of several layers of sand, gravel and earth. A cairn was unearthed in the centre of the barrow along with an outer stone kerb. It could therefore be estimated that the barrow had an original size of approximately 15 m in diameter. The central cairn, which was made of large boulders, revealed a cist made of standing stone slabs positioned NW-SE, and measured 0.75 m in length and 0.35 m wide. The northern end-wall was missing, but the other three sides were made from single standing stone slabs (Myhre and Myhre 1970). The cist did not contain any artefacts, however, burnt bone and pieces of charcoal were discovered. The existing uncalibrated ^{14}C-sample from charcoal inside the cist is 3330 ± 80 BP (Myhre and Myhre 1970). In the report this date was originally recalibrated to 1460–1300 BCE, however, a new recalibrated test in *OxCal v.4.2* gave a date between 1777–1436 BCE. A ^{14}C-sample from charcoal discovered beneath the cist was dated to 3080 ± 80 BP, and recalibrated in the original report to 1210–1050 BCE. A new recalibrated date in *OxCal v.4.2* gave a date between 1516–1111 BCE. Both these dates are significantly earlier than the dates in the original report thereby placeing the barrow somewhere between periods I and II. It has been pointed out that charcoal from inside the cist could derive from old timber, therefore resulting in an older date (Myhre 1972:15). Prior to this excavation a bronze dagger[2] typologically dated to late period II–early period III was discovered in a cist at Sørheim that sounds remarkably similar to the cist in Garahaugen (Myhre and Myhre 1970). If the source of the dagger was the same mound it would complicate the dating of the barrow even further. There is of course no possibility of knowing exactly where the dagger came from, and 'urmaker' Pettersen – an infamous grave robber at the turn of the 20th century – was known for his 'excavations' in this area around the time when the dagger was submitted in to the museum. The dagger could therefore be from several other burial mounds in the area. Several factors complicate dating of the barrow, but based on the recalibrated ^{14}C-dates, a late period I date or more likely a period II date seems plausible.

5.1.2 STØLE

Olahaugen in Støle lies on the same ridge as Garahaugen, approximately 200 m from Støle church. The earthen barrow was re-excavated by Shetelig in 1912, after a small slab-lined cist

[2] S2849

was discovered inside the mound. The barrow measured 16–20 m in diameter, and 1.5 m high. Inside the cist was a vessel containing burnt bone indicating a Late Bronze Age date. The cist was discovered 2–3 m north of the barrow's centre, which was clearly damaged by earlier withdrawals of earth and gravel. Eyvind de Lange (1912) proposes a Late Bronze Age date for both the barrow and the burial. This is highly questionable, as the cist was not discovered in its centre (Myhre 1972:16), and to my knowledge there are no known barrows the size of Olahaugen built for Late Bronze Age cremation graves. Consequently, I will tentatively date the barrow to the Early Bronze Age.

5.1.3 GRINDHEIM

Kyrkjehaugen (the church mound) lies west of Grindheim church, centred in the middle of the large Grindheim ridge. The barrow measured 15–17 m in diameter and 1.5 m high. The barrow held a small slab-lined cist with a vessel of burnt bones[3], and a razor[4] dated to the Late Bronze Age. The cist was discovered close to the outer layer of turf, and 3 m south from the mounds centre, indicating a secondary burial (Fett 1963:38-39; Myhre 1972:16). The barrow was re-excavated by Johs. Bøe in 1926 but he was not able to find a central cist. He did, however, record the composition of the barrow, which was very similar to Garahaugen, made of several layers of sand, gravel and earth, with a stone kerb around. An Early Bronze Age date seems therefore likely.

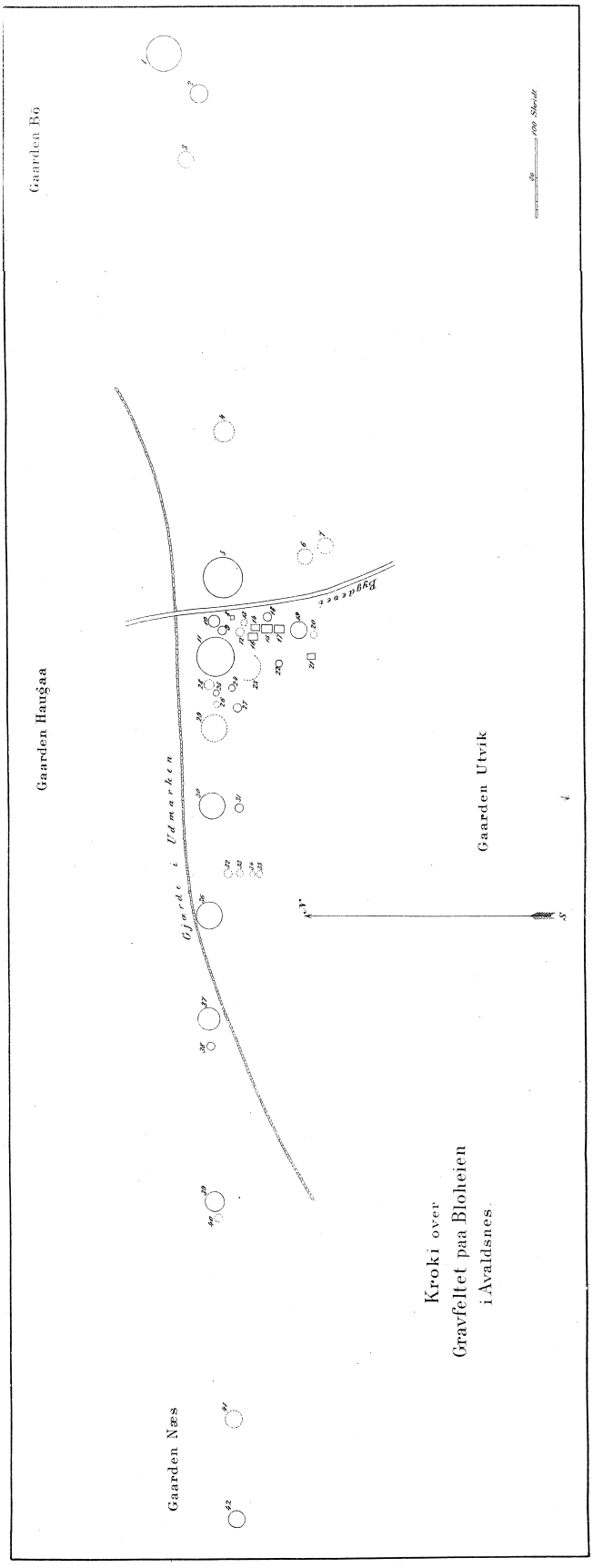
Figure 5: Distribution of burial mounds in the northern part of Karmøy.

5.2 KARMØY

5.2.1 REHEIA

Situated on a high moraine ridge overlooking the strait to the east, Reheia

[3] B7656c
[4] B7656b



holds the largest concentration of earth-constructed barrows from the Early Bronze Age in Norway. When Bendixen visited Karmøy in 1876 he mapped out 42 structures on Reheia: seven large and twenty-eight smaller barrows, as well as seven stone settings. Today, the six remaining barrows still dominate the landscape, and are placed on a north to south line parallel with the strait.

Guttormshaugen was registered as mound nr. 11 by Bendixen in 1876 (see figure 6). The barrow was a target of an unschooled excavation in, or before 1823, and there is little information about the composition of the barrow or the cist. However, looking at the barrow today it still holds a thick layer of earth, and it is not unthinkable that the cist was made out of standing stone slabs like so many other barrows in Karmøy. It revealed a twisted arm-ring of gold[5], pieces of hammered gold leaf[6], and a now lost bronze sword. No diagnostic information regarding the bronze sword has been obtainable. However,

Figure 6: B.E.R Benedixen's map of Reheia, from 1876. Stippled circles and half circles are remains of partly destroyed barrows. The stone settings are seen between mound nr.5 and nr.11. From the topographical archive, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

[5] B1893
[6] B1616

the twisted arm-ring of gold is very similar to arm-rings found on Jutland (e.g. Broholm 1943:170). These are usually dated to period III, and one could therefore assume that Guttormshaugen is from the same period. A similar twisted arm-ring of gold along with a bronze sword from period III has also been found at Hodne in the district of Klepp, further supporting a period III dating (de Lange 1919). Gold leaf is very rare in Nordic Bronze Age settings. However, in addition to Guttormshaugen, a second burial mound from Reheia has held a couple of gold leaf fragments[7]. The exact position of this mound is unfortunately unknown. In Denmark and Skåne gold leaf has often been found on artefacts made of bronze, the Sun Chariot of Trundholm perhaps representing one of the best-known examples (e.g. Brøndsted 1939:85-86; Broholm 1944:85; Jensen 2002:277).

Fyrstegraven (mound nr. 5) is situated northeast of Guttormshaugen. It was excavated by three students in 1831, and was built of a thick outer layer of earth with a central cairn in the middle. Inside the cairn was a cist of standing stone slabs. The cist was 2.80 m long, 0.80 m wide, and 0.60 m high. When the cist was opened a double layer of birch bark had been laid on top of the deceased (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:150-151). A sword[8] with a scabbard[9] covered in calf hide rested on the deceased's chest. In Denmark a few examples of scabbards have been recovered from oak coffins. These are usually lined on the inside with calf hide to protect the sword (Broholm 1944:94). The cist also held pieces of a brooch, three bronze buttons, and a textile fragment from the dress of the deceased (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:151). A recalibrated ^{14}C-date in *OxCal v.4.2* from the scabbard belonging to the sword dated it to 1532–1260 BCE (TUa-168: 3145 ± 60 BP), indicating a burial somewhere between period II and III. The sword has on the other hand been typologically dated to early period III (Møllerop 1963b:53). A spearhead[10], typologically dated to the last part of period II or the beginning of period III, was found in the same grave but information about the context of the spearhead is contradictory (see Nordenborg Myhre 1998:77-80). However, based on Christie's (1842a:324) own personal communication with excavator S. Blom, it is reasonable to believe that the spearhead came from the same grave as the rest of the artefacts. To my knowledge only one other burial mound has been recorded with a spearhead: a period II grave from Rennesøy[11]. In other parts of Norway spearheads are usually connected to stray

[7] B548
[8] C566
[9] C567
[10] B999
[11] S4975

Figure 7: Fyrstegraven seen from west, the strait is visible in the background to the left. The mound is reduced from its original size due to excavations. Photo by K. I. Austvoll.

finds or depositions (e.g. Bjørn 1926:8).

Knaghaug is situated on the outskirts of Reheia, on the farm Bø. It was excavated by Shetelig in 1907 after a golden berlock and a bronze cauldron from the Roman Period were found in in 1903 (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:153). Prior to this a bronze sword from period III had been found in the same mound (Gustafson 1893). The central cist was badly damaged by earlier excavations and only scattered stone slabs and pieces of charcoal were found. Based on the construction of other cists at Reheia, the cist in Knaghaug was in all likelihood made of standing stone slabs. A second construction, shaped as an oval ship setting was found south of the centre of the mound. It was 3 m long E-W and 2 m broad N-S. It did not contain any objects but the construction had an upper layer of boulders, with stone slabs supporting it. Bellow the slabs, a thick layer of marine sand was discovered resting on another layer of small horizontally laid slabs (Shetelig 1907). A small slab stood at the northeastern end of the structure, interpreted by Nordenborg Myhre (2004:153) as a ship prow. Similar constructions have been found in Kongshaugen at Karmøy, and in Steinhaugen at Klepp.

Mound nr. 30, one of the largest barrows on Reheia, revealed a spoon-shaped scraper of flint. It was discovered in the proximity of grave nr. 1 but not on the inside, and can thus be explained as mixed debris from earlier settlement layers. Nevertheless, the construction of the cist is quite interesting. Its outer sidewalls were made from single standing slabs and each end was made of a double layer of standing stone slabs with a layer of small pebbles in-

between (Bendixen 1877:106). It measured roughly 80 cm in length and 30–40 cm wide and contained burnt bones, interpreted by Bendixen to be a child (Bendixen 1877:106). Cremation graves are rare in the Early Bronze Age, but not unheard of. In Jæren there is one cremation grave from periods I–II, two cremation graves from period II, and six cremation graves from period III. However, these are usually small cists found in either small barrows, on flat ground, or as secondary burials in larger burial mounds (Møllerop 1963b:28). This seems to differ from mound nr. 30 at Karmøy, which can be categorised as monumental (30 m in diameter and 6.5 m high), the cist does not indicate a secondary burial either. Thus, I believe we are dealing with a different burial custom with more similarities to Garahaugen in Etne and cremation graves in Jutland from period II. A general change in cremation graves in Jutland from period II to III demonstrates that period II graves are usually represented with cists that are proportionate to the body. Whereas in period III we see a change in the bodily representation of the diseased, where the cremation of the dead is buried in smaller cists (Hansen 2007:35), which is more similar to cremation graves in Jæren, and secondary burials from the Late Bronze Age. The smaller barrows at Reheia hold little information, but those who do have revealed small cists with burnt bones (Neumann 1839). These are in all likelihood from the Late Bronze Age, the same as the stone settings, which will be discussed in the section below.

5.2.2 Stone Settings at Reheia

In 1876 Bendixen recorded six rectangular stone settings, each centred south between the two largest barrows, Guttormshaugen and Fyrstegraven. Today, there are no traces left of these structures and little information of them have survived. However, in a *Haugesund Dagblad* article on July 7, 1956, Egil Bakka talks of similar structures at Sørheim, Etne (see also Fett 1963:17-18). Related structures have also been recorded at the Hunn site in Østfold and Hjortekrog in Sweden (Kristiansen and Prescott 2000:177; Widholm 1998:64-69). They are described as being made up of smaller stones making up a rectangular setting usually between 2–3 x 4–5 m. In the centre one can usually find layers of sand, gravel and charcoal. Some of them have revealed burnt bones, ceramics, and one particular stone setting at Hjortekrog contained a razor dated to the Late Bronze Age period V–IV. They are all situated in areas connected to cairns within a Late Bronze Age context.

When Bendixen excavated stone setting nr. 21 at Reheia (see figure 6), he described its sides as being made up of stones and ditches. The inside held stones, sand, and gravel, covering a layer of charcoal. Further down he recovered a pile of burnt bones, charcoal, and

pieces of ceramics[12] (Bendixen 1877:107-108). Bendixen also described other stone settings that were more oval in form (Bendixen 1877:108). Similar structures have also been found at Hjortekrog in Sweden. Based on typological analyses of pottery these structures have been dated to the Late Bronze Age (Widholm 1998:68). Nordenborg Myhre (2004:152) connects the oval stone settings on Reheia to ships, similar to those found on Knaghaug and Kongshaugen. This interpretation is not unlike Widholm's views, which sees the oval stone settings at Hjortekrog as symbolizing a voyage of the souls. The rectangular stone settings at Hjortekrog have no outer form that can be interpreted in relation to other structures, but they are always situated in areas connected to oval stone settings and cairns. Based on a diagnostic comparison of the construction and finds, it is highly plausible that the stone settings at Reheia can be tentatively dated to the Late Bronze Age, however, situated within an Early Bronze Age context. One would imagine that the area continued to be used as an important place for ritual practice governed by the presence of ancestral burial mounds from the Early Bronze Age.

Figure 8: The dry-built cist in Kubbhaug from the excavation in 1905. The cranium is seen in the upright corner. A skeletal from a water vole was discovered in the cist, and had mixed up many of the artefacts and skeletal from its original position. Photo from the topographical archive, University Museum of Bergen.

5.2.3 GUNNARSHAUG

Further north of Reheia lies Gunnarshaug farm. Here, Shetelig and Brøgger excavated Kjørkhaug and Kubbhaug in 1905. Located on the same moraine ridge as Reheia and facing Karmsundet they hold a

[12] B3152a

parallel line with the strait.

Kjørkhaug was 25 m in diameter and 3.4 m high, it held a thick outer layer of earth, with traces of red and grey sand, clay and charcoal. In 1897 the blade of a dagger[13] from period III was discovered in the same mound, and there are also mentioning's of a missing twisted arm-ring of gold (Shetelig and Brøgger 1905). Seven cone-shaped cairns were discovered inside of the mound (Shetelig and Brøgger 1905). With the exception of some pieces of charcoal and a few fragments of flint, the barrow and inner cairns were empty. These have later been interpreted as cenotaphs for missing persons at sea (de Lange 1914).

Kubbhaug is the only earth-constructed barrow in Karmøy recorded with a cist in a dry stone technique (see figure 8). The cist was covered by a single capstone shaped in the form of a ship. Its sides were made of horizontally laid slabs, with standing end slabs. It contained unburnt skeletal remains including a cranium. It also contained the blade of a dagger[14], a bronze needle from a brooch[15], a button[16], a razor[17], and a pair of tweezers[18], all datable to period III. A layer of birch bark was discovered at the bottom of the cist. The mound itself was made of a thick layer of earth surrounding the central cairn and cist (Shetelig and Brøgger 1905).

5.2.4 STORESUND

Located at the northernmost part of Karmøy, Storesund farm forms the end of the sheltered strait, and used to hold three barrows from the Bronze Age although their location is not known today.

Barrow nr. 1 was excavated in 1902 by Fridtjof Øvrebø and is 20 m in diameter and 2.5 m high. A cist of standing stone slabs was discovered in its centre, aligned NNW-SSE, parallel with the strait. It held the remains of unburnt bone together with a knife[19] and a brooch[20] from period III (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:158). 0.5 m below the surface a flange-hilted sword[21] was discovered. These are very unusual in southwest Norway, and it is unfortunate that it was not found in its original context.

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[13] B5310
[14] B5952a
[15] B5952c
[16] B5952d
[17] B5952b
[18] B5952e
[19] B5765b
[20] B5765a
[21] B5765c

Barrow nr. 2 was excavated as late as 1934 by Kristen Lindøe. The mounds location is not known but it was situated 30–40 m from the shoreline. It was 14 m in diameter and 2.5 m high. Like the other barrows in Karmøy it too was built out of a thick outer layer of earth with a central cairn in its centre. The cist was built of standing stone slabs but did not contain any finds except some unburnt skeletal remains. One of the southern side slabs had been moved prior to the excavation indicating a previous raid (Nordenborg Myhre 1998:108). The cist was oriented E-W which is the only known cist on Karmøy that does not lie parallel with the strait. The barrow's composition, cist, and unburnt skeletal remains places the mound within an Early Bronze Age context.

There is little information concerning the third mound. The only information we have is a pair of tweezers[22] discovered in a mound sometime in, or before 1872. It was found together with burnt bones in a small cist, indicating a secondary burial from the Late Bronze Age.

5.2.5 STORASUND

On the mainland, across the strait from Storesund lies the farm Storasund. When the landowner excavated a barrow here in 1904 he discovered a small cist made of six standing stone slabs. It held burnt bones and a knife, datable to period IV. The mound was badly damaged and one could clearly see a gravel pit into its centre (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:158). The discovered cist must have been a secondary burial, and the damages done to the mound's centre must have destroyed a central cist, most likely from the Early Bronze Age.

5.2.6 RINGEN

There are very few cairns in Karmøy, and only Kongshaugen at Ringen can with certainty be placed within the Bronze Age. It is situated on a promontory overlooking Karmsundet not far from Høydevarden lighthouse, and measuring 43 m north–south, 18 m east–west, and at least 2.5 m high. When it was excavated in 1963 it revealed an internal cairn containing a dry-built cist of horizontally laid slabs (see figure 9). It was positioned NW-SE, parallel with the strait. Around the central cist a pattern of circular walls was visible, with the outer wall ending up in a boat-shape construction towards the northwest. The central cist contained unburnt skeletal remains[23] and a bronze ring that has later been lost (Møllerop 1963a:241). There

[22] B2772
[23] S9355a

Figure 9: The reconstructed cist in Kongshaugen, aligned SE-NW parallel with the strait. Photo by K. I. Austvoll.

were also discovered five secondary burials in the cairn, the latest dated to the Migration period based on ornamented potsherds (Sjurseike 2001:36-37). The cairn was re-excavated and reconstructed in 2001, revealing a potential sixth burial next to the central cist. An osteological examination of the skeletal remains was carried out. It concluded that the age of the individual was between 17–20 years, still, it was not possible to tell the sex of the individual (Sellevold 2001). A recalibrated ^{14}C-sample in *OxCal v.4.2* from the skeletal remains from the central cist gave a date between 1131–923 BCE (Beta-159023 2870 ± 40 BP). This would give the cairn a date between period III and IV. In 2001 new ^{14}C-sample were taken from charcoal found in cracks below the cairn. These were recalibrated in the original report to 2030–1870 BCE (3582 ± 40 BP). It is unlikely that these dates are connected to the first burial, and I think it is more reasonable to assume that the pieces of charcoal are a result of earlier activities from before the cairn was built. Another ^{14}C-sample from charcoal found at the bottom of the central cist has been recalibrated in *OxCal v.4.2* to 1532–1386 BCE (Beta-159027 3180 ± 40 BP). This dates the cairn to late period Ib and period II. However, based on the ^{14}C-date from the skeletal remains, and similar constructions from Jutland (Rasmussen and Holst 2004:21) and Skåne (Artelius 1996:57-58) dated to the last part of the Early Bronze Age, the cairn on Ringen is most likely from period III. It also seems unlikely that the cairn could be of a later date, as there are to my knowledge no Late Bronze Age graves with unburnt skeletal remains.

5.3 JÆREN

5.3.1 RANDABERG

Comparable to a peninsula, the district of Randaberg is known for its waterways, lakes and close connection to the North Sea. The landscape north of Vistevika bay holds many prehistoric structures, dominated by the presence of cup-mark sites along the bay's shoreline.

Krosshaugen is situated north of Vistevika, on a ridge that overlooks the sea. Helliesen recorded the barrow in 1897 (Helliesen 1900), but it was not until it was removed in 1914 that a central cist was unearthed. The barrow was made of earth and gravel with a diameter of roughly 25 m. The cist was aligned ENE-WSW, the same orientation as the shoreline of the bay (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:115). The southern and western walls were constructed out of regular boulders – the same used for the inner cairn. The northern and eastern walls were both built of single stone slabs. When the cist was opened it revealed a half full cist of earth and beach pebbles, with fine beach sand covering the bottom layer. Remains of an unburnt skeletal[24] and fragments of pottery[25], dated to the Early Bronze Age, were discovered in the cist. No information about the alignment of the skeletal nor the position of the pottery fragments was recorded (Gjessing 1914:28-29).

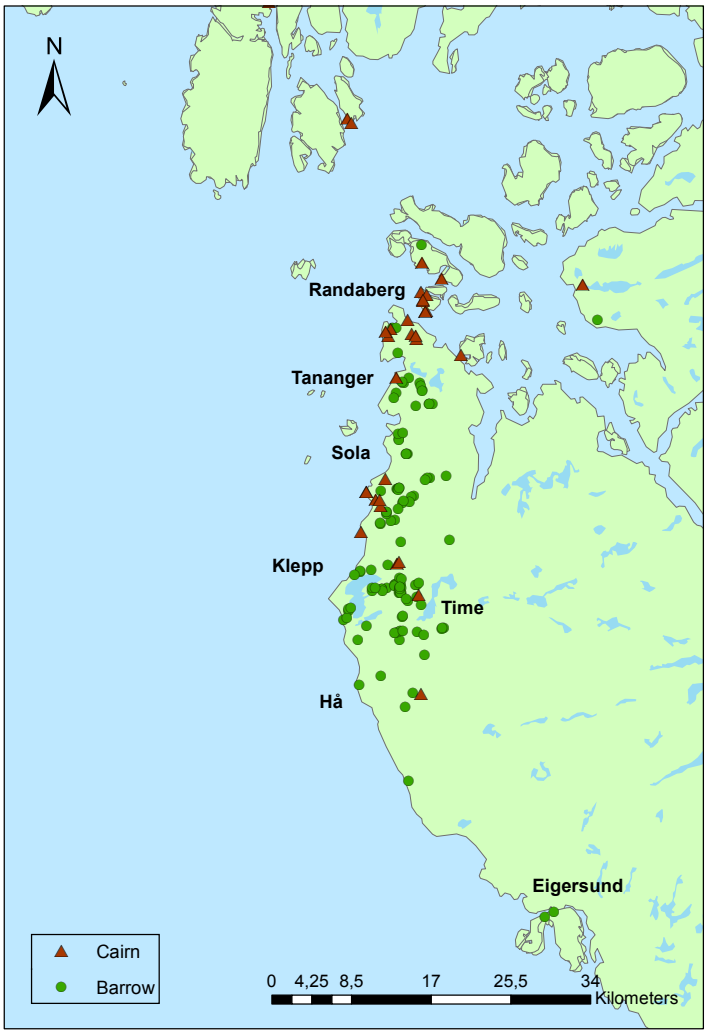


Figure 10: Distribution of burial mounds in Jæren. Cf. appendix for more details.

Other barrows in the same area hold little information, however, one of the two twin barrows, Tvihaugene, in Vestre Goa, southeast from Krosshaug did contain a casting mould[26]

[24] S3737b
[25] S3737a
[26] S2083

for a socketed axe from to period V–IV. They also found burnt bone and a couple of pottery fragments (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:115).

5.3.2 TANANGER

Tananger is a peninsula made up of a low-lying hill, forming the southern side of the Hafrsfjord inlet. It stretches northward from the district of Sola and is exposed to the North Sea on its western side, with its small protective skerries and sheltered bays.

Sothaug is the largest burial mound on Jæren (40 m in diameter and 5–6 m high). It is located on a high terrace overlooking the passageway from the North Sea into the sheltered area of Hafrsfjord. The barrow has not been archaeologically excavated, but when earth was removed from the mound in 1842 a dry-built cist of horizontally laid slabs was revealed. The cist contained fragments of an unburnt skeleton with a bronze sword[27] on its chest, dated to period III. Two bronze buttons[28] and a cloth of woven wool[29] were also discovered in the cist (Myhre 1980:68, 74). Together with a similar barrow on the opposite side of the fjord they mark the passageway to the inlet of Hafrsfjord (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:104, 115).

Myklebusthaugen is situated south of Sothaug. It is an earthen barrow (19 m in diameter, 2 m high), and was excavated in 1878. It was largely made up of boulders with a 1 m thick outer layer of earth (Helliesen 1901:56). A cist made of standing stone slabs was discovered south of the mounds centre, and held some pottery fragments and sea-shells (*littorina littorea*). The southern stone slab was ornamented with three pairs of footprints and 12 cup-marks. Two other stone slabs ornamented with cup-marks were discovered in the debris south of the cist (Helliesen 1901:56-57).

Store Melhaug (25 m in diameter and 3.5 m high) is located further south on the peninsula, with a location that stands out in an otherwise flat landscape. Anders Lorange excavated the barrow in 1879, uncovering an earthen barrow made of a composition of sand and earth with a central cairn in its centre. Between the inner cairn and the outer layer was a circular wall of trimmed slabs. This was likely part of an original outer stone kerb at the foot of the mound. Three secondary cists discovered in the barrow, indicates that new layers of earth had been laid on the mound at a later time. One of the secondary cists held unburnt

[27] S7425a
[28] S7425b
[29] C1045c

skeletal remains, indicating an Early Bronze Age date. The central cist was made in a dry stone technique of horizontally laid slabs on the sidewalls, and a single slab on each end.

Lille Melhaug holds little information, but a bronze sword[30] from period III, a button, and a couple of bronze fragments were discovered in the mound in 1834 (Nicolaysen 1875:187). No information about the cist construction has been obtainable, but the barrow did contain three secondary burials. One burial contained burnt bones and fragments of a knife[31] from period V. From a second grave came fragments of unburnt skeletal remains and a bronze knife from period III[32].

Other barrows in Tananger hold little contextual information, although it is worth mentioning the barrows at Tjora farm. Nordenborg Myhre (2004:103) has them dated to the Early Bronze Age based on size and location. They are all situated on rocky outcrops, following a line that faces Risevigen bay further north. Elhaugen is particularly interesting as a spearhead[33] was, supposedly, discovered in the mound sometime in, or before 1885 (Helliesen 1885:140; Nordenborg Myhre 2004:103). However, a new revision of the artefact has it catalogued as a razor from the Late Bronze Age.

5.3.3 SOLA

Several earth-constructed barrows are registered in the district of Sola, which lies south of Tanager. The landscape is known for its rocky outcrops, high moraine hills, long beaches and bays. In addition to burial mounds, several rock-art sites are located close to the shoreline, with the ship as the dominant motif.

Regehaugen lies on a high moraine ridge overlooking Sola beach, and was made of a thick layer of earth, sand and stone. The barrow was not archaeologically investigated but when the landowner removed sand and gravel from the mound in 1881 he discovered two parallel cists. A year later Anders Lorange was able to draw the cist construction (see figure 11). Both cists were placed under the same central cairn, indicating a contemporary construction. They were made of small, finely cut horizontally laid slabs, with an upright slab in each end. The northern cist held an end slab that was ornamented with three concentric circles, three cup-marks, and a groove. The same cist contained the wealthiest burial registered from the Early Bronze Age in Norway. It was a female burial that held a neck-

[30] B1011
[31] S1261
[32] S2882
[33] S1569

collar[34], a belt-plate[35], a tutulus[36], two arm-rings[37], a brooch[38], a dagger[39] and small bronze tubes[40] for the skirt. Based on similar finds in southern Scandinavia the artefacts have traditionally been ascribed to period II. Engedal (2010:75) have dated the burial to period III,

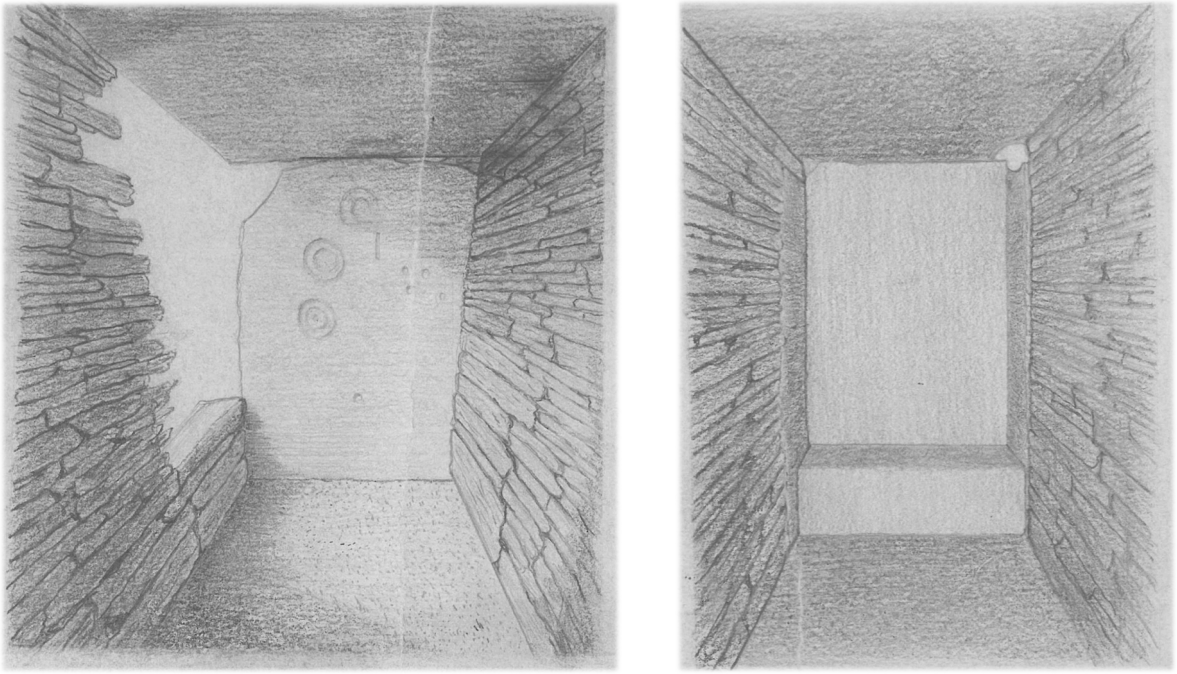


Figure 11: Drawing of the northern cist in Regehaugen, the body was placed with the head by the ornamented stone slab. The cist was centred E-W, and was 2.15 m in length and roughly 1 m high. The foot-end contained a stone kerb, indicating that the deceased was buried after the cist and mound was constructed. Drawing by A. Lorange, 1882.

based on diagnostic resemblance with a handful of finds from Zealand. These are based on Karl Kersten's (1935) typology, where he ascribes 4 out 28 neck-collars that are ribbed with spiral decorated side panels to period III, and 2 out of 16 belt-plates that are decorated with two spiral zones to period III. These comparisons seems motivated by a need to connect southwest Norway to Zealand, rather than diagnostic resemblance, and are also used to place Særheim 1 and Nord-Braut 1 within a period III context (Engedal 2010:73-76). I consider Regehaugen, as well as Særheim 1 and Nord-Braut 1 as period II burials in accordance with earlier studies (e.g. Møllerop 1963b; Larsen 1996; Nordenborg Myhre 2004). The southern cist contained burnt bones, a pair of tweezers and a knife blade, dated to period V. This must

[34] S1263
[35] S1264
[36] S1265
[37] S1266
[38] S1267
[39] S1268
[40] S1269a

be part of a secondary burial as the cist construction indicates the same age as the northern cist (Møllerop 1963b:37-38).

Lorange excavated three other barrows at Rege. They did not contain as rich finds as Regehaugen, however, all cists were made of small, horizontally laid slabs, using a dry stone technique. Based on their construction, the barrows can be placed within an Early Bronze Age context and an ornamented grave slab[41] in one of the barrows further supports this date.

Barrow nr. 1 on Tjelta farm is situated on a promontory further south in the district of Sola. The landscape is characterised by its northern ridge, which would have overlooked the now drained Skasvatnet. The farm holds five registered barrows from the Bronze Age. There is little information with reference to the barrows, although one did contain a bronze arm-ring[42] from period II. It was unearthed in 1881 and revealed a central cist made of small, horizontally laid slabs in an E-W direction (Buch 1881:123).

There are several more earth-constructed barrows along the same ridge as Tjelta farm; however, no bronze objects were recorded in connection to these. Nordenborg Myhre (2004:94) suggest them to be dated to the Bronze Age, based on their size, construction and location.

5.3.4 SANDNES

Southeast of Sola, in the district of Sandnes, lies the most recently excavated burial mound from the Early Bronze Age. With hills, rocky outcrops and lakes, it is an 'inland' landscape on the border with Ryfylke's deep narrow fjords and mountains. In 1978, Trond Løken excavated several smaller cairns in the area; the largest contained two orthogonal flagstones, indicating a small slab-lined cist. Inside was a small concentration of thick charcoal bearing earth, which held fragments of pottery, burnt bones, amber, a flint dagger and a sickle (Løken 1978). Pieces of charcoal were ^{14}C-dated, and have been recalibrated in *OxCal v.4.2* between 1634 and 1260 BCE[43]. It is thought to be one of the earliest cremation graves in the region, and based on the sickle it is in all likelihood from the transition from period I to period II.

[41] S6502
[42] S1262
[43] Topographical archive in Stavanger: uncalibrated 3180 ± 80 BP.

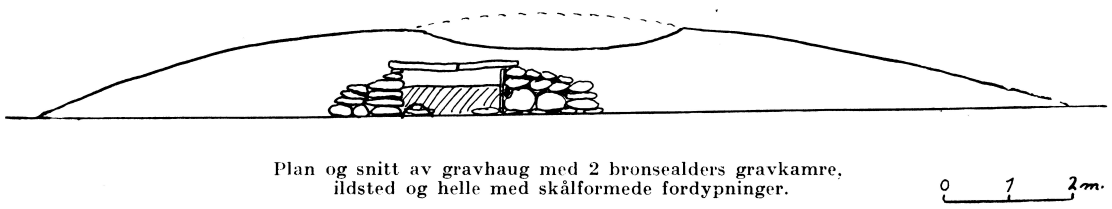


Figure 12: Incision of Molkhaugen, showing the central cist. From Stavanger Museums Årshefte 1934:60.

5.3.5 KLEPP

The coastal zone along Klepp is short of protective skerries and islands, and is characterised by its long stretches of sandy plains. Orre Lake encompasses a large area of Klepp, and was most likely dammed up by beach ridges sometime in prehistory. It now holds a rich wildlife, and Bronze Age barrows are located all along its crests.

Litle Grudhaug lies north of Orre Lake. It was excavated by the landowner 1917, and was constructed as a cairn with a thin outer layer of earth. In its centre a cist constructed in a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs was unearthed. It was 2.10 m long and 40–50 cm wide, and held a sword[44] from period II. The skeletal remains from the deceased was uncovered next to the sword (de Lange 1917).

Molkhaug, on Østre Bore is one of the few barrows in Jæren that were excavated by professional archaeologists (Lund 1934). The burial mound was made of a mixture of earth and stone with an outer layer of earth. It measured 18 m in diameter and 1.8 m high, two cists were uncovered inside the barrow. Cist 1 was placed on a WSW-ENE line in the mounds centre (see figure 12). It measured 1.80 m long and 0.4–0.5 m wide, and was built from a mixture of both large and smaller stone slabs. The eastern side was made of a single standing slab, and the three other sides were constructed of smaller horizontally laid slabs. It was filled with earth and contained pieces of burnt bone at the

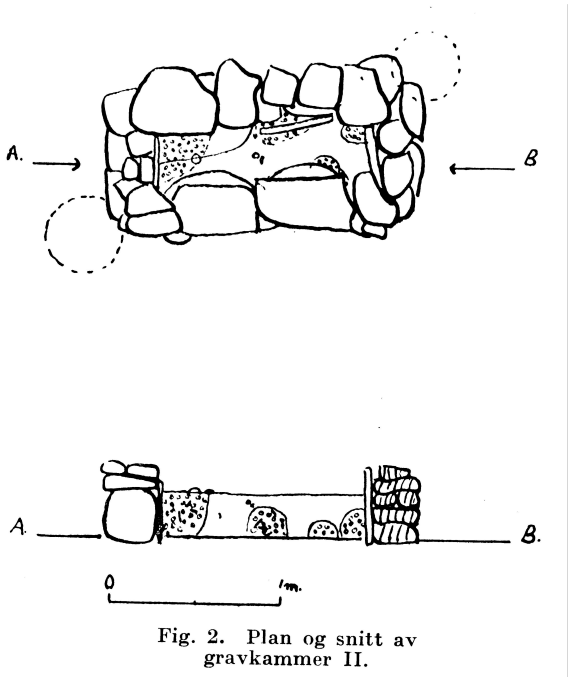


Fig. 2. Plan og snitt av gravkammer II.

Figure 13: Profile and incision of cist 2 in Molkhaug. From Stavanger Museums Årshefte 1934:61

[44] S3967a

western cross wall. Cist 2 was discovered 1.5 m north of cist 1. It was made of two to three layers of capstones with one large capstone underneath. The cist measured roughly 2 m in length on the outside and was poorly constructed with boulders and slabs mixed together to construct the cist. The sidewalls were constructed in a dry stone technique, but standing stone slabs were also used. Each end was made of a single slab (see figure 13). Cist 2 was filled with earth but revealed pieces of skeletal remains, including a cranium. A couple of small teeth have been interpreted as a woman's; this is further supported by a tutulus from period II, unearthed at the southern cross wall. Between the cranium and the tutulus was a mass of seashells (*littorina littorea*). A bronze tube and various animal bones were also discovered in the cist. A third cist was also unearthed, but did not contain any finds from the Early Bronze Age, and based on its construction it was in all likelihood from the Late Bronze Age. The two main cists present a problem as they deviate from a general pattern of either cists made in a dry stone technique and cists made of standing slabs. The dating of the two cists is equally problematic as cist 1 contained burnt bones, which is rare in period II. Cist 2 contained a tutulus from period II and a bronze tube common in both period II and III. There is a possibility that both graves are from the transition to period III as the construction of both cists indicates a contemporary building period. The use of horizontally laid slabs is similar to many period II graves, and the double burial resembles the richer burial mound at Rege.

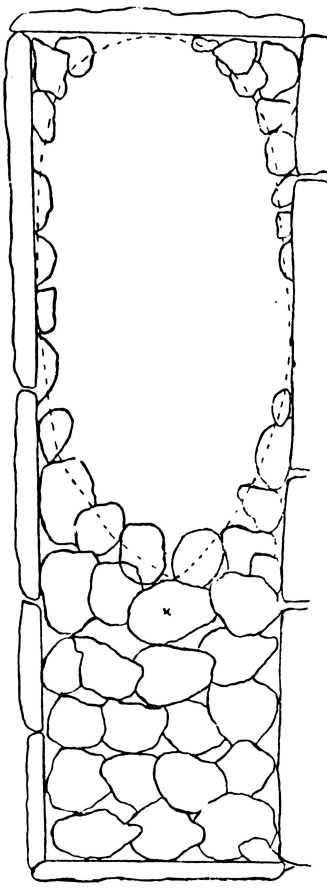


Figure 14: The construction of the cist at Hodne Farm. The small mark in the centre of the cist shows where the golden arm-ring was discovered. Drawing by E. de Lange, 1919.

At Hodne farm, south along the outer ridge of Orre Lake there are three barrows with finds from the Early Bronze Age. The richest barrow held a twisted arm-ring of gold[45] and a bronze sword[46] from period III. The barrow measured 17 m in diameter and 2.3 m high, but earth had been removed prior to the investigation so its original size could have been larger. The cist was constructed of horizontally laid stone slabs and was 2.8 m long and 0.50–0.60 m wide (see figure 14). The sword was discovered in the N-W corner of the cist, 10 cm from the

[45] S4091
[46] S1022

sidewall and 30 cm from the end slab. The twisted arm-ring of gold was discovered underneath the floor, which was covered in beach pebbles and small stone slabs. It is unclear why the ring was placed underneath the grave and not together with the deceased. It could be an offering before the deceased was buried, or to protect the artefact from grave robbers (de Lange 1919).

Jonsokhaugen is situated on the same farm as the barrow with the golden arm-ring and sword. There is little information concerning the barrow construction, but it did reveal a bronze dagger[47] from period III with fragments of the wooden hilt still intact (Gustafson 1890:128).

Ljoshaug is the largest barrow at Orre farm (38 m in diameter and 2–3 m high), and is situated on a promontory on the southwestern side of Orre Lake. There are four other barrows in the same vicinity but no bronze object can be connected to these (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:86). The central cist in Ljoshaug was ca. 1.9 m long, and was built in a dry stone technique made of small, horizontally laid slabs. Inside the cist was a tutulus from period II (Buch 1879:260).

A barrow at Nord Braut was excavated in 1922, and revealed yet another cist with its sidewalls constructed in a dry stone technique and standing stone slabs in each end. Skeletal remains of a woman were discovered in the grave along with two bronze arm-rings[48] and a belt-plate[49], all dateable to period II (de Lange and Petersen 1925:7-8). In 1881 a similar barrow at Sør Braut was unearthed. The cist construction was built in the same manner, and held female artefacts; two bronze arm-rings[50], a neck-collar[51], and a tutulus[52] typologically dated to period II.

5.3.6 TIME

The district of Time is supported by two major river systems running across an open, moraine landscape. It differs from the large ridges and hills in northern Jæren, and is perhaps more known for its low-lying hills and flat plains.

Hognestad holds the best-documented barrow in Time. When Arne Bang-Andersen (1936) excavated the remains of a destroyed earthen barrow in 1936 it was 19 m in diameter

[47] B4716
[48] S4227b-c
[49] S4227a
[50] S1273
[51] S1272
[52] S1274

and 2 m high. The outer layer was constructed of earth and gravel, with a central cairn in the middle made of large boulders. The cist was constructed of standing stone slabs, and seven custom fit slabs were used to create the floor (see figure 15). One of the capstones was ornamented with two cup-marks[53]. The cist also held the blade and pommel of a bronze dagger, – diagnostic to period II – two potsherds, fragments of charcoal, burnt nutshell, and unworked flint[54].

On the farm Tjøtta further north, a barrow was excavated in 1922. The barrow had a composite structure made of gravel and stone, covered by a thin layer of turf (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:78). The cist was made of standing stone slabs covered by two capstones and held a belt-plate, a tutulus and a brooch[55] together with fragments of unburnt skeletal remains, dated to period II.

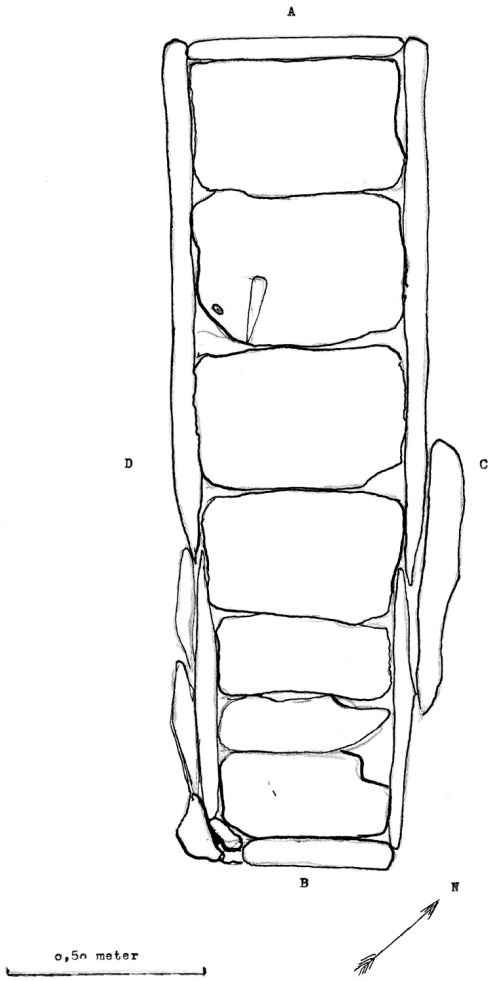


Figure 15: Profile of the cist discovered in a barrow at Hognestad. Two standing slabs were used at each side with a couple of smaller stones for support. The floor was made out of seven nicely fitted stone slabs. The dagger and pommel are drawn in on the second floor slab. Drawing by A. Bang-Andersen, 1936.

5.3.7 HÅ

Hå is a costal landscape, with sandy beaches and low moraine hills and costal heathlands to the west. It also marks the southern edge of the traditional Jæren landscape.

There are several burial mounds in the area, with the majority situated close to the shoreline on low-lying hills. Dyrshaug was one of the largest burial mounds in the area and was excavated Gabriel Gustafson in 1892. The mound measured 22 m in diameter and 3.5 m high. An outer layer of tuft covered the mound with a large central cairn in its centre (11–12 m in diameter and 2.5 high). Earlier excavations had clearly damaged the barrow, but the central cist was believed to be intact. The cist was made of small, finely fitted horizontally laid slabs in a dry stone technique, and positioned in a NE-SW direction. The

[53] S9784
[54] S6400a-e
[55] S4265a-c

cist held a couple of skeletal fragments, including teeth. Other than that, the cist was empty. However, a few years earlier a secondary burial was discovered in the same mound, with finds from the Late Bronze Age.

It is also worth mentioning that a finely crafted hilt[56] from a bronze sword was discovered in a cairn at the same farm as Dyrshaug. The cairn was re-excavated by Brøgger but no central cist, or artefacts were discovered. In 1926 part of what is believed to be the blade of the sword was handed in to the museum.

5.3.8 EIGERSUND

Eigersund lies south of Hå and differ from the traditional landscape of Jæren, and is perhaps more known for its rivers and woodland. The best-documented barrow was unearthed at Eigerøya by Brøgger in 1910. The cist was discovered close to the surface, which would indicate that earth had been removed prior to the excavation. The cist was constructed in an E-W direction, and made in a dry-built technique of small, horizontally laid slabs (Brøgger 1910). The cist contained an unidentifiable concentration of organic material in the western corner, described as birch bark-like in texture. The material could conceivably be a birch bark container, which is not uncommon in Danish oak-coffins, found for instance in the famous Egtved burial (Thomsen 1929). These are usually placed at the foot-end of the grave, and fits well with the distribution at Myklebust. Birch bark containers also have parallels from Norway, for instance from the Brubakk quarry in Kvikne, and a Late Bronze Age–Pre-Roman Iron Age bog find from Åustråt in Trøndelag (Melheim 2012b:388). There is also a possibility that fragments of resin[57] can be connected to a birch bark container, found in a cremation grave, tentatively dated to the Late Bronze Age. Tests in a SEM-

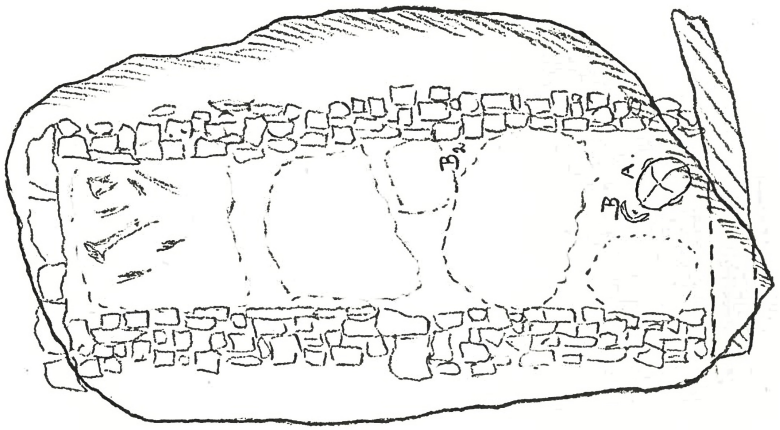


Figure 16: The cist at Myklebust farm. The skull and jawbone are displayed at the eastern end-slab. Drawing by A. W. Brøgger 1910.

[56] S3410
[57] C35237d

microscope of the organic material in the Myklebust grave were not able to say anything definite, but resembled dry skin. In the Egtved burial the birch bark bucket was placed on top of cowhide. Perhaps this was also the case in the Myklebust grave, though further tests are necessary. Brøgger also described a white powder in the western corner, thought to be verdigris from bronze, although this seems highly questionable. Fragments of a skeleton, including a jawbone were discovered in the east end. Sean Denham (1999) has analysed and categorised the bone fragments which originated from a single human skeleton. The chinbone was distinctly masculine, and the individual was aged somewhere over twenty ca. 168 cm tall.

5.4 Lista

5.4.1 Øvre Meberg

A kilometre east from Pennefeltet, the largest rock-art site in Lista, the farm Øvre Meberg is situated on a promontory with wide views to the ocean and surrounding landscape. In January 1948 the landowner stumbled upon a slab-lined cist with a bronze sword[58] from period III when he was removing stones from a mound. A follow-up survey was carried out by Marstrander (1948) who was informed that during the last 50 years stone had been removed countless times from the barrow. Marstrander estimated its original diameter to be roughly 25–30 m. The burial mound is referred to as a cairn, but the composition of the mound was made out of stones mixed with earth, with a thin outer layer of turf. Therefore, it seems more correct to refer to the mound as

Figure 17: Distribution of burial mounds on Lista.

[58] C27790a

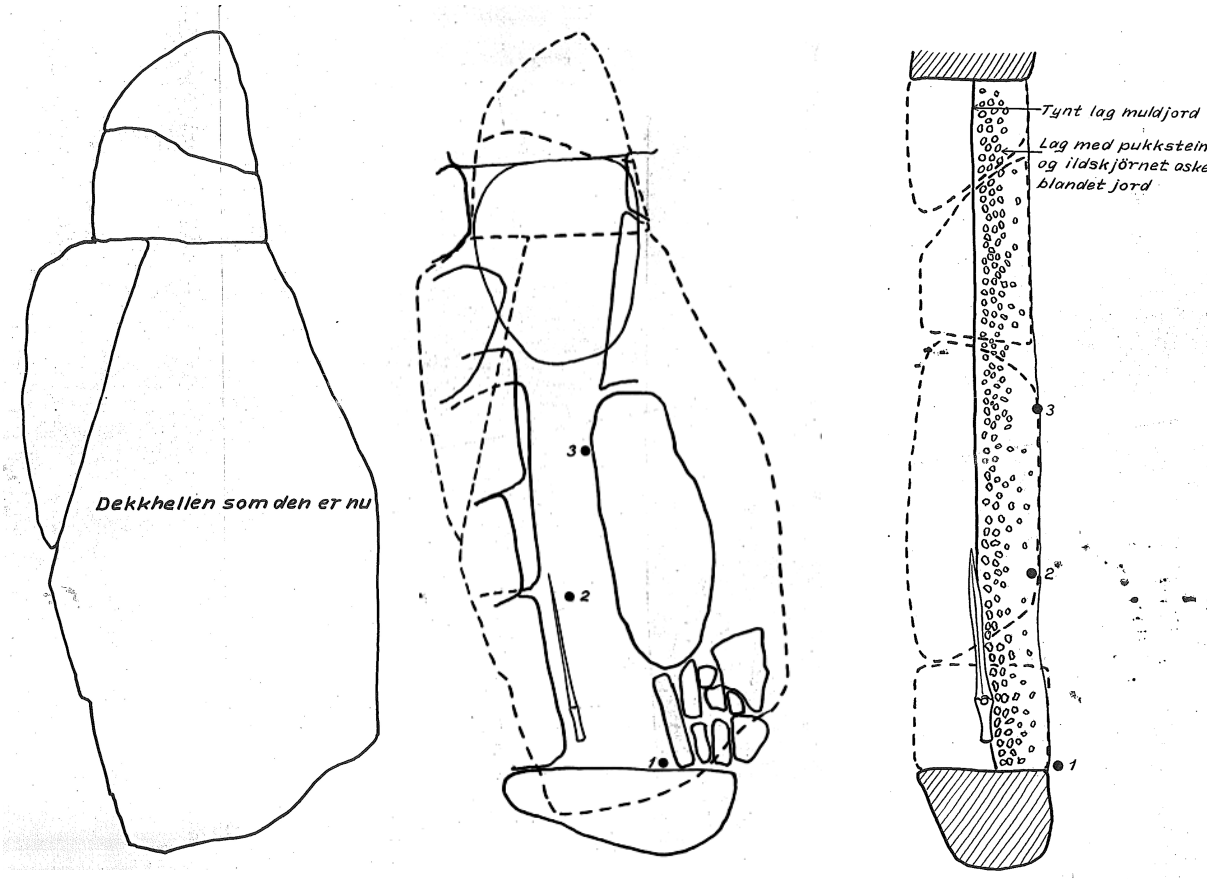


Figure 18: Capstone and cist discovered in the burial mound at Øvre Meberg. From Marstrander 1948.

a composite barrow, similar to burial mounds in Jæren. The central cist was 1.60 m long and 0.40 m at its widest. The walls were made of standing stone slabs; some were nicely fitted, while others were more randomly placed with their flat side facing in. A single capstone, 2.7 m in length and 1.1 m wide, covered the grave. The sword was discovered in the southern part of the western sidewall, with the sword's tip facing north. A piece of unburnt bone, possibly a cranium, is recorded in the original report (Marstrander 1948). Although it is never mentioned in later publications (e.g. Marstrander 1950) it would imply a inhumation burial. A few fragments of coarse pottery were also discovered in the cist.

5.4.2 ØSTRE HAUGE

Sverreshaug is an earth-constructed barrow that lies on a high moraine ridge overlooking the sea. In historical times the barrow functioned as a fryctoria (Hauge 2007:47) until it was excavated by Anders Lorange (1878) in 1877. It measured 84 m in diameter and 6 m high, making it the largest barrow in Lista. It was constructed in layers of earth and sand, with a central cairn in its centre that held a cist made of large boulders and a capstone. The cist measured roughly 2 m in length and 0.6 to 0.4 m wide. The capstone was covered in birch

bark, perhaps in an attempt to preserve the cist and body? Oak-coffins in Denmark are often thought to be deliberate attempts at preserving the body of the deceased, as well as layers and wrappings of the body in skin and clothes, and even seaweed (e.g. Holst, et al. 2001). The floor inside the cist was covered in dark soil mixed with sand, on top of this a layer of yellowish brown beach pebbles were laid out on the floor. The cist did not contain any artefacts, but due to a secondary burial from the Late Bronze and based on the cist construction and mound, it can be tentatively dated to the Early Bronze Age.

5.4.3 KJØRREFJORD

There is unfortunately no information concerning the barrow construction in Kjørrefjord. It was destroyed years before a bronze knife[59] and a bronze arm-ring[60] were discovered in the same vicinity as the barrow. To all appearances the artefacts are from the destroyed barrow, and based on a typological dating of the knife, the barrow can be placed within period III (Johansen 1986:58). Yet, there has been an internal discussion concerning the arm-ring's date. Johansen (1986:59-60) dates the arm-ring to period III, with reference to Randsborg's (1969) chronology of similar arm-rings in Denmark, and Brøgger's (1913) dating of arm-rings at Jæren. Hauge (2007:45) dates the arm-ring and barrow to period II with reference to Møllerop (1963b:16) who dates several arm-rings in Jæren to period II. These arm-rings were unearthed in cists that are clearly placed within period II contexts. Yet, I have problems seeing parallels with the arm-ring from Kjørrefjord and arm-rings discovered in Jæren. With reference to the published chronology in both Brøgger's and Randsborg's articles, and with the likely scenario that both the arm-ring and the knife are from the same grave, a period III dating seems highly plausible.

5.4.4 HANANGER

In the southeastern part of Lista, situated on the western side of the Hananger Lake, there were unearthed fragments of burnt bone[61] and a badly corroded tutulus[62] from an earth-constructed barrow. There is little information about when it was discovered and how it was built, but the tutulus and bones were discovered in a small slab-lines cist indicating a Late Bronze Age date. However, both Johansen (1986:64-66) and Hauge (2007:46-47) suggest

[59] C20991b
[60] C20991a
[61] C25633b
[62] C25633a

that the tutulus should be typologically dated to period II, based on similar finds from Jæren. If this is the case, the barrow at Hananger is one of very few cremation graves from period II.

Allegedly a small shaft-hole hammer[63] of cobber was discovered in a barrow at the same farm. There is no information about the barrow construction, and the find itself is rather obscure. There is no direct typological comparison either, with only a tentative dating to the Late Neolithic, based on the material and high content of arsenic (Stylegar 2007:60). The finder is said to have found the hammer together with a now lost urn and a "rusted" sword, which could indicate a grave from the Iron Age. However, several sources have indicated the find and finder to be dubious and little trustworthy (Johansen 1986:55). Melheim (2012b:70) suggests a Bronze Age date for the hammer. This is supported by the landscape around Hananger, which is situated within a classic Late Neolithic–Bronze Age environment, and the use of the hammer for the annealing of bronzework, copper or gold, with references to similar Bronze Age hammers from Denmark (Melheim 2012b:71). A clear dating of the artefact and the barrow is highly tentative; however, a Bronze Age date seems plausible.

5.4.5 KVILJO

Lorange excavated Steinhaug at Kviljo the same year as Sverreshaug. The cairn was situated close to the shoreline and measured 45 m in diameter and 2.5 m high. 1 m beneath the surface several layers of stone slabs were discovered. Beneath the slabs was a central cist, made of four oval-shaped stone slabs on each side (0.8 m long, 0.27 m wide, 0.3 high). Inside the cist a layer of earth and beach pebbles were discovered together with fragments of burnt bone[64] and seven pieces of flint[65]. The cairn's typological date is challenging. Lorange (1878) dates it to the Neolithic–Bronze Age. There are few cremation graves from the Late Neolithic in Norway, although not unheard of, and have also been recorded in southern Scandinavia (e.g. Krause 2005; Sarauw 2007). The cist construction in Steinhaug also bear resemblance to the cist in Garahaugen in Etne, and the relatively large size of the cist differ from the smaller Late Bronze Age cists.

Another cairn from Lundevågen in Lista could also very well represent such a grave. In the fill of the cairn in Lundevågen were fragments of burnt bone, pieces of flint and quartz, along with a tin awl[66]. Earlier plundering had damaged the cairn, but a depression in the

[63] C22273
[64] B3201a
[65] B3201b
[66] C38005g

bedrock (1x2 m NE-SW) was interpreted as a grave chamber (Ballin and Jensen 1995:238-239). A recalibrated ^{14}C-date in *OxCal v.4.2* of charcoal from the debris gave a date between 2579–2112 BCE (T-010478: 3870±95 BP). In the original report such an early date was omitted and automatically ascribed to the Bronze Age because of the tin awl (Ballin and Jensen 1995:239). However, the cairn has recently been tentatively dated by Melheim (2012b:64-69) to Late Neolithic I. This is based on a comparative study of similar tin awls from the continent and the radiometric date of the charchoal.

Based on early evidence of cremation practice in Lundevågen, and the cist construction I would argue that Lorange's original date of Steinhaug to Neolithic–Bronze Age seems highly relevant, although I would adjust it more finely to the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age.

5.4.6 DYNGVOLL

Svarthaug at Dyngvoll is a composite barrow with a central cairn in its centre (Petersen 1926:168-169). Lorange excavated the barrow in 1877, and 40 years later it was re-excavated by Helge Gjessing. The barrow measured 21 m in diameter and 2.65 m high, with the central cairn measuring 5.5 m in diameter. The cist was 2 m in length in a SE-NW direction, and constructed in a dry stone technique on its sides with a single stone slab on each end. The cist was considerably wider in one of the ends, indicating an inhumation grave, however, on its floor, on top of a layer of beach pebbles Lorange discovered white fragments of burnt bone, together with a few pieces of flint. This would indicate a cremation grave not unlike the burial in Steinhaug at Kviljo. Cremation burials constructed to fit the actual size of a grown human are extremely rare in burial mounds from the Early Bronze Age, yet the construction of the cist and barrow indicate a date to the Early Bronze Age. In southern Scandinavia, cremation graves from period II are often recorded in cists that are built to fit a grown human, they also appear in period III, although there is a tendency to build smaller cists in this period (e.g. Aner, et al. 2001:61, 74, 143; Hansen 2007). The barrow in Dyngvoll may thus be a practice influenced by groups from southern Scandinavia.

5.4.7 VEST-HASSEL

There is little information concerning the barrow at Vest-Hassel, but discoveries from a secondary cremation grave from the Late Bronze were made in the barrow sometime in the

19th century. An urn with burnt bones[67], an arrowhead[68] made in bronze and a bronze button[69] were discovered in a small slab-lined cist, all datable to the Late Bronze Age. A year later after the original discovery, a second larger cist was unearthed right next to the cremation grave. There were no discoveries, and the cist was badly damaged, however, a tentative dating to the Early Bronze Age seems plausible.

5.4.8 KLOKKHAMMER

In 1874 a gold spiral ring[70] was reported to have been discovered in a mound at the farm Klokkhammer (Melheim 2012b:61). Information concerning the construction of the burial mound is unfortunately lost. The ring was bought by Bergen Museum, and it is said that it was discovered along with a bronze ring of a similar shape (Hauge 2007:46; Stylegar 2007:64). It has previously been ascribed to period III (Hauge 2007:46). However, a Late Neolithic date has recently been proposed, due to a marked resemblance with Late Neolithic *noppenringe* from Denmark, found for example in the famous LN II Skeldal hoard (Melheim 2012b:61). Metallurgical analysis of the Klokkehammer ring shows a high content of silver (25% Ag), which is similar in composition to the rings from the Skeldal hoard (Melheim 2012b:63). *Noppenringe* have also been discovered in burial mounds from the Late Neolithic in Denmark (Vandkilde 1996:203), further supporting a LN II date for the Klokkehammer ring. In my opinion, based on the metallurgical analysis and the typological resemblance with *Noppenringe* in Denmark, a Late Neolithic dating seems plausible.

[67] B3875a
[68] B3875c
[69] B3875d
[70] B4513

6 STRUCTURING STRUCTURES

In the previous chapter I presented and contextualised a selection of burial mounds from each region that contained the most reliable and available information. This presentation established a foundation for the analysis of burial practices in the Early Bronze Age, which is rooted in my theoretical framework in Chapter 3. Here, the individuals who are buried are in turn part of a communal group identity, structured either by doxa or through a consciousness of difference. I argue that we are able to trace these structures through the material remains of the burial mound, based on the concept that groups manifest their habitual practice in every aspect of their lives, including death. Thus, by compiling and structuring the material remains, in this chapter I aim to find these subtle traces of habitual practice.

As already mentioned in the literature review, there have been tendencies to focus on either the local, as described by Brøgger, or the interregional, as examined by Shetelig. What both of these and several other Bronze Age researchers have in common is a view in which the areas with earth-constructed barrows are seen in a cultural communality, influenced by rich Bronze Age societies in southern Scandinavia. It is my opinion that this generalization has neglected or marginalised important elements that express internal differentiation. Another issue pointed out in the same chapter is the methods in which the burial mounds were excavated. These vary to such a degree that many queries are hard to answer. However, as pointed out by Jones (1997:125), an essential part of analysing past identities derives from a multitude of sources and classes of data. Thus, this analysis will continue using the themes presented in section 3.3.2, which are both general and consistent throughout: (1) landscape, (2) construction, (3) cairn, (4) treatment of the deceased, (5) gender, and (6) artefacts. Essential to every section are diachronic relations.

The analysis will use a compiled set of collected data in a quantitative study of regional differences in the studied areas. By pointing out differences and similarities, I should be able to identify tendencies that express a structured group identity. The results of this will be discussed in Chapter 7. There are undoubtedly problems of quantity with such a study, which have also been pointed out by others (e.g. Bakka 1980). For example, Etne and Lista have too few burial mounds to give a representative depiction of the regions' burial practice, and just one new find or excavation could change the empirical data quite dramatically. Moreover, the small number of finds in these districts creates comparable problems with Jæren, which holds the largest number of burial mounds in this study. Jæren's large number

of burial mounds compared to Etne, Karmøy, and Lista is partly a result of the area's large size, but other issues, such as an ever-expanding development structure and population growth, could be partial factors to why more finds are registered here than in any of the other areas. Therefore, in order to present a simpler and more easily comparable presentation of the different regions, I will describe some of the analysed material in percentages (e.g. Solheim 2012:153). It should be stated that this method presents a different set of problems, in that the total number of burial mounds is disregarded; however, these numbers are available in the appendix, and when the main goal is to illustrate regional differences this method seems more appropriate. It is important to note that Etne is only tentatively presented, and is perhaps of little comparable use. Still, in accordance with my aims in Chapter 1, I argue that the earth-constructed barrows as such must to be presented as a whole in order to give a complete overview of the burial practice along the coast of southwest Norway.

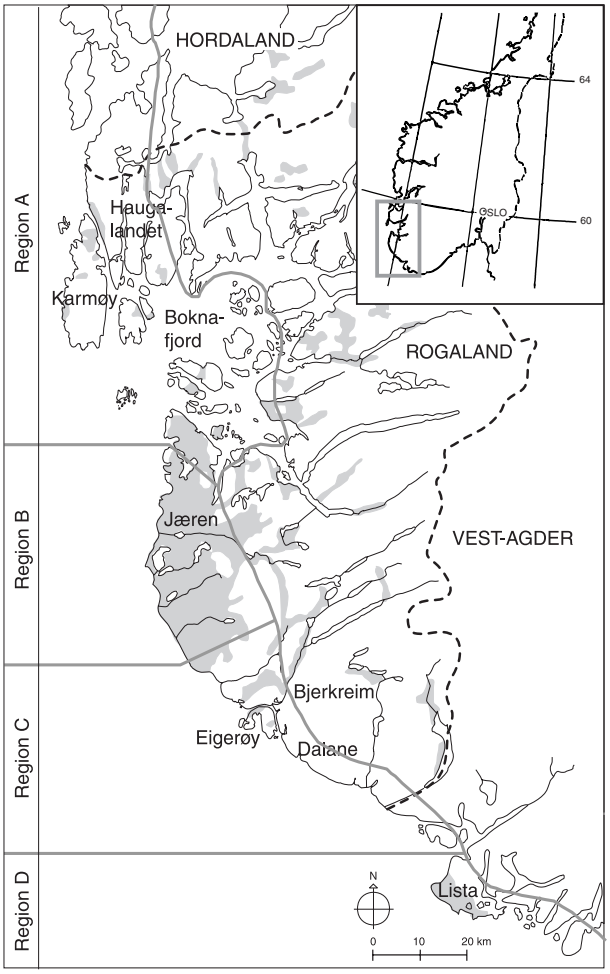


Figure 19: Map of southwest Norway showing distribution of quaternary drift deposits, which are well suited for agrarian activity. The earthen barrows in in this present study are all located in the quarternary areas (shaded). From Simonsen and Prøsch-Danielsen 2005:10.

6.1 LANDSCAPE

I believe the landscape is a powerful structure that would have shaped group identities to some extent in the Early Bronze Age. There are several issues that will be addressed in this section. The burial mounds' connection to the maritime landscape will remain important (e.g. Nordenborg Myhre 2004; Kvalø 2007), and will help us better comprehend the regional settlement pattern. To do this we need to establish an idea of what the landscape was like in the Early Bronze Age. All of the studied regions are characterised by quaternary drift deposits (see figure 19), and a costal heathland that covered large parts of the landscape at the end of the Bronze Age (Prøsch-Danielsen and Simonsen 2000b:189). The sea level and the shoreline would have been distinctly different than today. The sea level along the coast of Jæren is only based on two

^{14}C samples from Hålandsvannet and Breiavannet, and based on this information the sea level is suggested to be roughly 4–5 m above the present level at the transition between periods II and III (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:72, 195). Additionally, rock-art sites can give a *terminus post quem* to further support these assertions. The higher sea level would have changed the landscape quite dramatically, with several more harbours and skerries, and burial mounds would be more closely connected to the maritime landscape. It has previously been suggested that Orre Lake was a lagoon and an important place for travelers to seek shelter during the Early Bronze Age (Kvalø 2007:66-67). Based on the shore displacement curve I have used ArcGIS to calculate the sea level in this region (see figure 20). The digital contours are only at 5 m intervals, so minor deviations are possible, but these data offer a good impression of the topography of the Early Bronze Age. The lake does indeed become a lagoon that would have served as a protective harbour. The burial mounds are still situated along the outer crest – Orre 4 is now under water and might be of a later date – but the majority of barrows are situated on the highest ridge, further inland. Different variables were tested in ArcGIS, such as artefact and gender distribution, to see if they had an effect on barrows placement; most did not improve the result, although a small majority of period II graves seem to be concentrated on the highest ridge, with more period III graves closer to the lagoon and sea. At Sola one can trace a similar pattern, where it is possible to travel by boat from Sola beach and into the Hafrsfjord inlet (see figure 21). Today, the coast along Sola is considered a difficult sailing route, but if it was a passageway into the protective Hafrsfjord inlet it could be a partial factor to explain why so many rich burial mounds are situated in this particular area (see sections 5.3.1–5.3.3, 5.3.5). It is also important to consider that around 1700 BCE the sea level was about 7 m above today's level. This is considerably higher than 4–5 m during periods II and III, and even though certain routes were cut off, historicity and habitual practice could have been an anchor for the continued use of 'blocked' sailing routes.

Beach ridges dammed up the low-lying part of Lista sometime around 5200 BP, creating several lakes where Bronze Age burial mounds are now situated. The beach line would also have been significantly higher than today, and consequently the burial mounds at Lista would have had a much closer connection to the maritime landscape (Prøsch-Danielsen 1995:24; Carrasco 2009:45). It is also highly likely that Hellevigfjorden and Framvaren were connected and used as an 'inland' sailing route away from the dangerous currents and

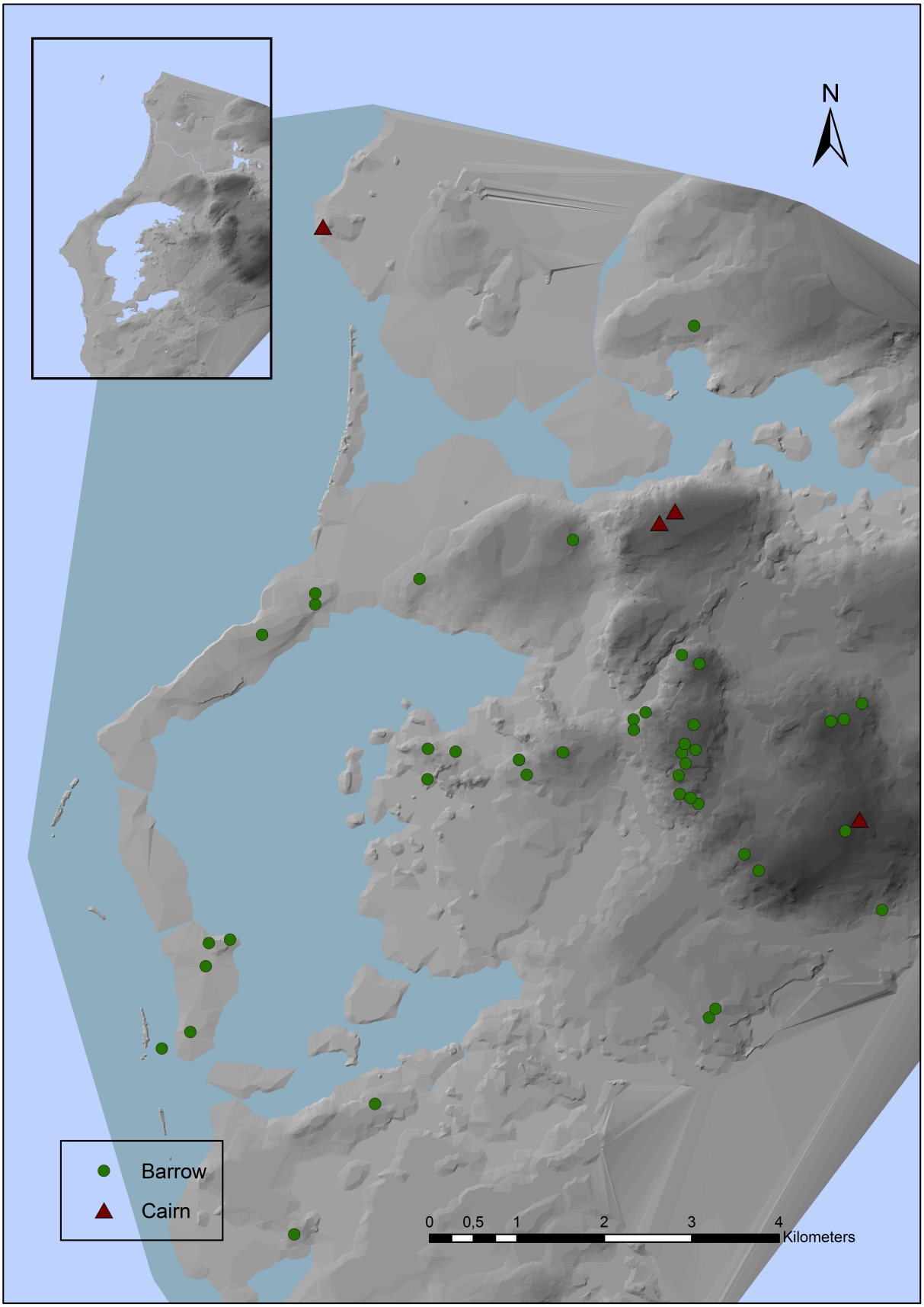


Figure 20: The burial mounds in Klepp. The sea level is set to 5 m above present level, approximately how it would have been in the Early Bronze Age. Orre Lake has been turned into a lagoon, and could explain why this area is so rich with finds from the Bronze Age. Equally interesting is how the majority of barrows are situated on the highest point in the landscape. At the upper left hand corner is the present level.

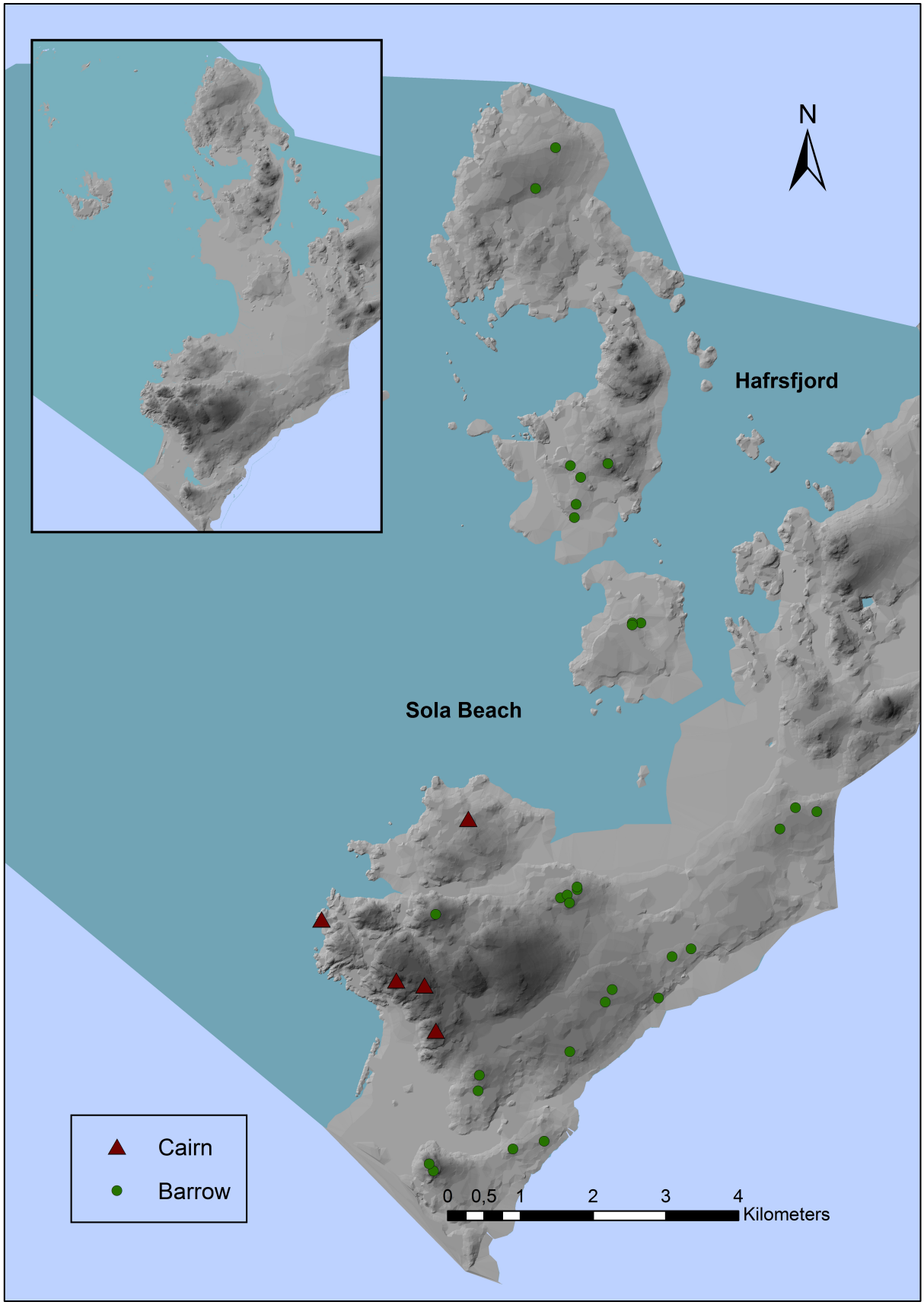


Figure 21: The burial mounds at Sola and Tananger. The sea level is set to 5 m above present level, approximately how it would have been in the Early Bronze Age. There is now a free passageway from the North Sea and Sola Beach into Hafrsfjord. At the upper left hand corner is the present level.

winds along Listalandet (Kvalø 2007:68-69). The same pattern can be traced at Karmøy, where every burial mound, save one, is situated close to the shoreline at the eastern side of the island. Bringing ships along the outer shores of Karmøy can be hazardous if winds are strong (Kvalø 2007:65). Hence, the sheltered strait to the east must have been a favourable choice for any traveller. The burial mounds at Karmøy are therefore likely a result of intentional distribution to manifest power, but in some cases the burial mounds are directly connected to earlier settlement and/or ritual practice. This is seen at Kongshaugen in Karmøy (see section 5.2.6), where earlier settlement layers have been unearthed beneath the central cist, and at Lista, where several burial mounds are tentatively connected to the Late Neolithic (see section 5.4.5, 5.4.8). Thus, the placement of the burial mounds expresses a sense of belonging that can be explained as structured practice, constructed through some form of social affiliation with the landscape. These patterns can also be traced at Jæren, where for example Sothaug, the largest burial mound from Jæren, and now a destroyed barrow at the opposite side of the inlet, must have been an impressive site for travellers by boat.

It has been important to place the burial mound at an elevated point in the landscape with views to the sea. This becomes apparent when we look at the placement of barrows in figures 20 and 21 but also when studying Tor Helliesen's maps of Jæren (1900–1912) (cf. appendix). Larsen (1996:41-42) has done a similar study where she mapped out 26 barrows located on high moraine hills in Jæren. Out of these, 12 had wide views to the ocean and the surrounding landscape. The remaining 14 were also located on hills but without information regarding their views. Out of 49 burial mounds in total, 29 were located on high hills in the landscape, 19 were without any information regarding their location, and only one was situated in an outfield. This illustrates how important the landscape has been for the people in the Early Bronze Age, and how it would have been a structuring element in a groups placement strategy.

The burial mounds are also connected to the landscape internally, i.e. the orientation of the cist. Only a quarter of the burial mounds registered with finds have information concerning the cist alignment, and these are highly variable (cf. appendix), but there are regional variations worth highlighting. There are five burial mounds with information concerning the alignment of the cist in Karmøy. Every burial mound save mound nr. 2 at Storesund is placed on a N-S line, parallel with the strait, and suggests a strong awareness of the surrounding landscape. Jæren is more variable, but a noticeable detail is that out of 14 cists with information about their orientation, 6 are placed in a W-E direction, and only 2 are registered in an N-S direction. This should perhaps be seen in relation to the journey of the

sun, which has been interpreted as an important cosmological symbol in the Bronze Age (e.g. Kaul 1998). In southwest Norway the ornamented grave slabs could be interpreted in the same manner. Kate I. Syvertsen (2003, 2005) has done a comprehensive study on ornamented grave slabs in southwest Norway of which 29 can dated to the Early Bronze Age. The most common figures are cup-marks and grooves, and in a few cases ships. However, there is also a third type of grave slabs with abstract/geometric motifs (9%). These are generally concentrated in mid-Jæren, around Klepp, Time and the southern part of Sola, often within period II contexts (Syvertsen 2005:507-508). The abstract motifs have usually been ascribed to cosmology and the liminal phase between life and death. In Sweden, the ornamented grave slabs in the Sagaholm grave are read by Joachim Goldhahn (1999) as an expression of the sun's journey across the cosmos and as an important element in the transitional stage between life and death. In Denmark, Johannes Brøndsted (1939:45) argues that the general alignment of cists is W-E with the head facing west. This perpetuates the idea of the sun as an important cosmological agent in the Early Bronze Age, and groups in Jæren seem to have adopted this idea at an early stage. I have located three cists with both ornamented grave slabs and alignment information. Although three graves are not sufficient to give an overall representation of the burial practice, it is, however, compelling that each one had a W-E orientation, the same as the journey of the sun. I have only been able to locate three burials from Lista with known cist alignment: one was positioned N-S, the other W-E and the third NW-SE. Etne is only represented with Garahaugen which was positioned NW-SE.

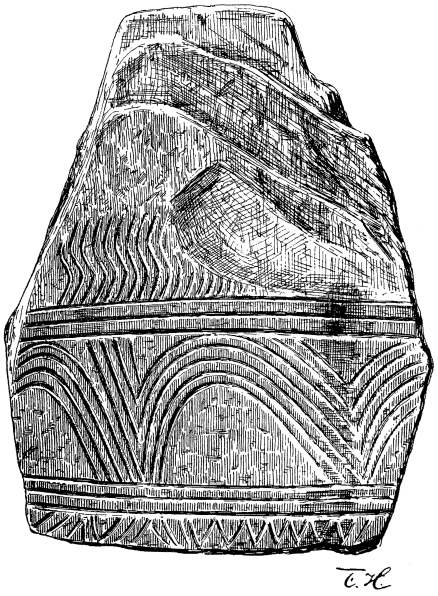
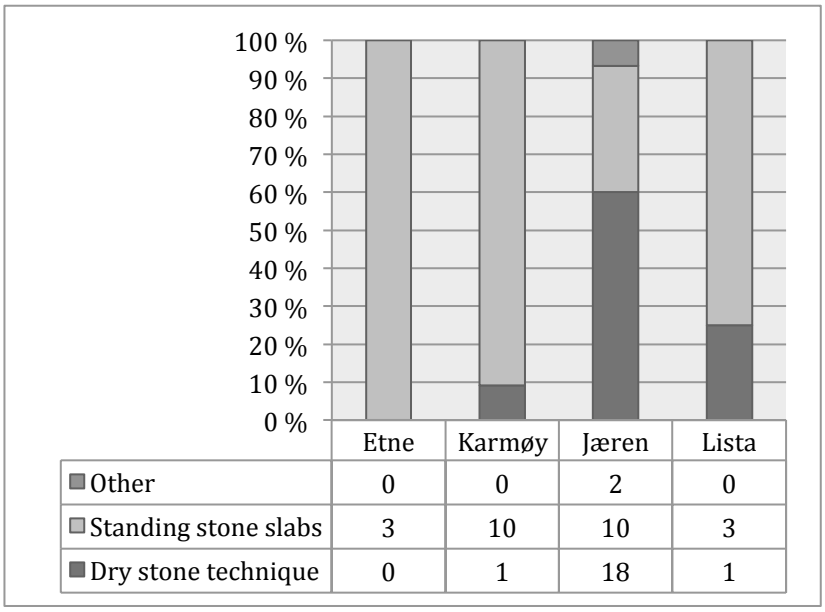


Figure 22: Abstract/geometric grave slab from Auglend in Time. Drawing by Tor Helliesen 1901.

To conclude, the burial mounds demonstrate a close connection to the maritime landscape, with several additional harbours and passageways in the Early Bronze Age that are not visible in today's landscape. This reflects the placement of barrows that follow ridges and natural passageways, with the majority of barrows on high ridges and hills with wide views. It is not unthinkable that this was done to exert an outward expression of power. A connection to the landscape is also exhibited internally, with a north-south orientation in Karmøy, which reflects the orientation of the strait and a west-east orientation in Jæren, interpreted as part of the cosmological picture and the journey of the sun.

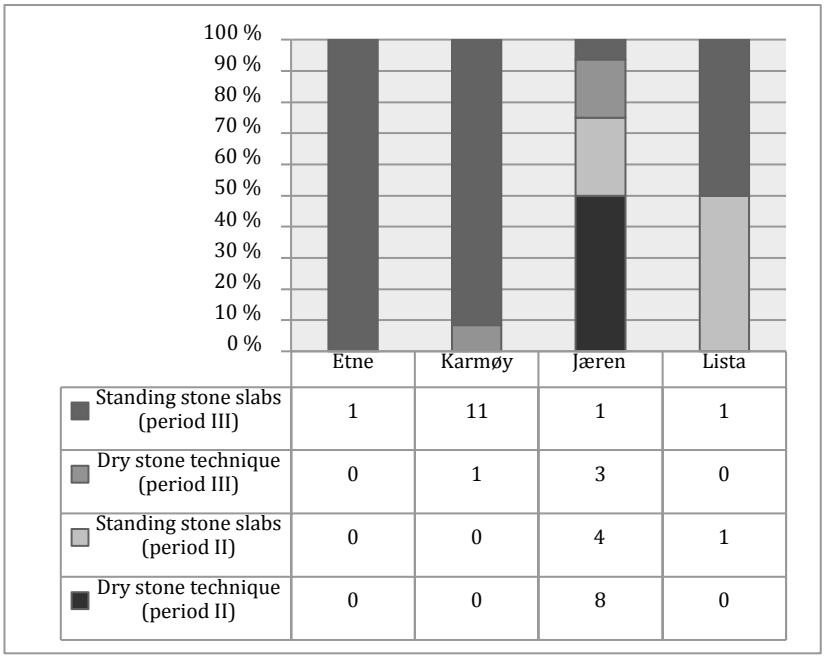
6.2 CONSTRUCTION

The construction of the earthen barrows has been analysed both externally and internally. The exterior can be divided into three categories denoting a thick outer layer of earth, composite barrows where stones, sand, and gravel are mixed together, and those with a large central cairn and only a thin outer layer of earth. Yet, only a small percentage of the overall number of earthen barrows contained this information, and it has proven to be of little comparable use. To compensate for this, I have categorised every earth-constructed barrow under one grouping, only differentiated by the naked cairn. More important is the internal construction that displays clear regional tendencies. The interior is also more closely connected to the deceased, and consequently the constructed identity. Cists are divided into two building techniques; a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs and cists made of standing stone slabs. Two cists in Jæren are categorised as 'hybrids' and have walls made of both standing stone slabs and small, horizontally laid slabs in a dry stone technique. Three cists were scantily built with large



	Etne	Karmøy	Jæren	Lista
Other	0	0	2	0
Standing stone slabs	3	10	10	3
Dry stone technique	0	1	18	1

Figure 23: The relative number of cists constructed of either a dry stone technique or standing stone slabs.



	Etne	Karmøy	Jæren	Lista
Standing stone slabs (period III)	1	11	1	1
Dry stone technique (period III)	0	1	3	0
Standing stone slabs (period II)	0	0	4	1
Dry stone technique (period II)	0	0	8	0

Figure 24: The relative number of cists, distributed by their construction and period.

boulders as walls; still, these have clear compositional similarities with cists made of more finely cut standing stone slabs and have been categorised as such. The distribution of the two typologically categorised cists have clear regional lines of demarcation. Again, Jæren stands out as the region with the clearest majority of dry stone cists (see figure 23). It is also the region with the largest concentration of burial mounds from period II. I have tentatively dated one burial mound in Etne to period I/II, but a period III date is also likely (see section 5.1.1). Lista has one burial mound typologically dated to period II; however, the burial mound is questionable and could be of a later date (see section 5.4.4). Karmøy is represented solely by period III graves that have a relatively homogenous construction (see figure 24). Of particular relevance is the construction of the earthen barrows, which is, save for one, represented solely with standing stone slabs. Karmøy also displays a divide in the placement of earthen barrows contra cairns, which are situated in the southern part of the island. Lista is more heterogeneous, but the majority of cists are made of standing stone slabs, with only one portrayal of a dry stone cist in Svarthaug (see section 5.4.6.).

To conclude, the construction of the earth-constructed barrows demonstrate clear lines of demarcation and is differentiated by a majority of cists constructed in a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs in Jæren – the majority from period II – and standing stone slabs in Etne, Karmøy, and Lista – the majority from period III.

6.3 CAIRNS

The preliminary discussion and theme in the present study have been of earth-constructed barrows. These barrows separate southwest Norway from other regions, and connect the region to southern Scandinavia. The earthen barrows are also considerably easier to date, largely typologically, based on the find material. This is considerably more difficult with cairns, as very few have been excavated, and those that have been excavated have held little information. My classification of Bronze Age cairns is therefore largely grounded in Nordenborg Myhre's (2004:208) classifications, which are based on the cairns' location in the landscape, where they are placed primarily on rocky outcrops, headlands, and promontories near the sea (see figure 25). Bronze Age cairns also differ from Iron Age cairns in that the latter are generally clustered in groups or cemeteries. Iron Age cairns are furthermore connected to farms and agrarian settlement (Myhre 1980:110-111). Bronze Age cairns are taller and more cone-shaped than Iron Age cairns, which are rather low. The inner construction is also different in that the majority of cists have been constructed in a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs (see section 5.2.6). The same pattern seems to

apply for Early Bronze Age cairns further north as well (Østerdal 1999:63). In two instances cairns have been dated to the Bronze Age through ^{14}C analyses (cf. appendix 2: Kongshaugen and Steinhaug). Against the backdrop of this classification, the majority of cairns can be separated by geography situated in the inland fjord districts of Ryfylke and the islands of Boknafjord. Of course overlaps do occur and cannot be explained by natural resources alone. May-Liss Bøe Sollund's (1996:88) analysis of cairns in Vestfold showed that alternative building material was readily available in most locations, and therefore that choice of material was intentional. This must also be the case for cairns in southwest Norway and should be interpreted as entangled structures of social practice (e.g. Vandkilde 2004:82).

A close connection to the sea is evident, perhaps even more so than for earth-constructed barrows; of course, these are not new assertions and have been pointed out on numerous occasions (e.g. Nordenborg Myhre 2004; Melheim 2006a). Nordenborg Myhre (2004:207) argues that cairns are often situated close to maritime passageways. Based on the distribution from figure 25, one can see that a majority of cairns are situated at narrow inlets and passageways, particularly north of Jæren. The coast of Jæren has a different distributional pattern, most likely as a result of the landscape's character where the cairns are more scattered and do not have the same clear linear representation as they do further north (Nordenborg Myhre 2004:210). Yet, they do follow a certain pattern of lines along the coast before they become more distinct and visible on ridges and hills along passageways and narrow inlets further north around Byfjorden and Boknafjorden. Cairns are distributed in such a way that they follow lines of movement that create a map of alternative sailing routs. This could also explain the liminal placement of cairns contra barrows, which are frequently placed within clustered groups and/or linear arrangements (e.g. figure 20 and 21). Surely, these are purely hypothetical assertions, but it is my opinion that the cairn served a different function in the liminal placement along the coast of southwest Norway. Earlier theories that connect the two different monuments to different economic systems seem outdated, and it is perhaps more fitting to talk about a discrete set of rules rather than cultural expression. This would entail that the cairn and the barrow were part of a common cultural practice but with individually distinct meanings.

To conclude, the earlier theories of the cairn as a marker of social differentiation and culture dualism are not as readily evident as one might have previously thought (see figure 25); the liminal placement should be seen as part of a common cultural practice (see section 7.2.3).

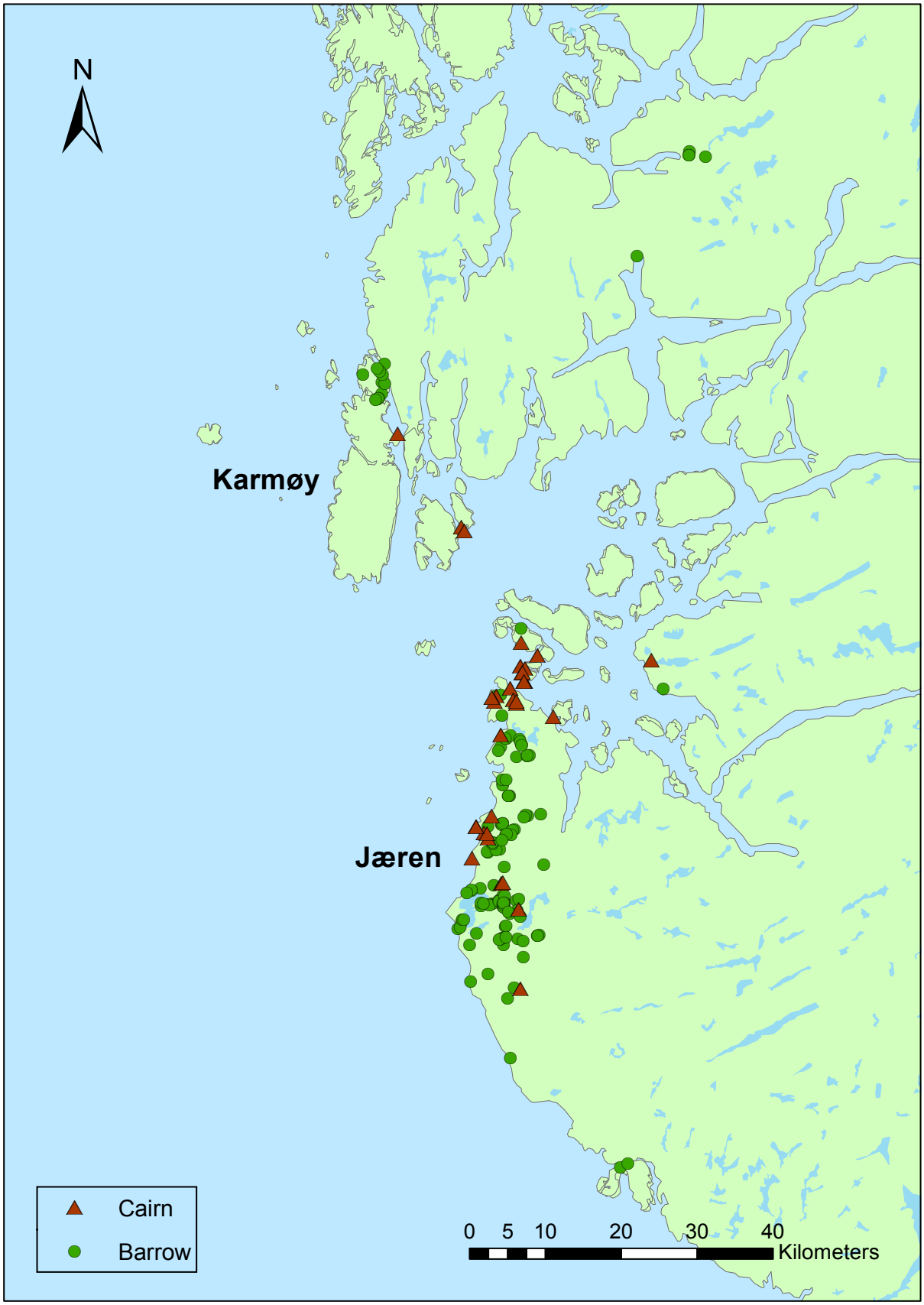
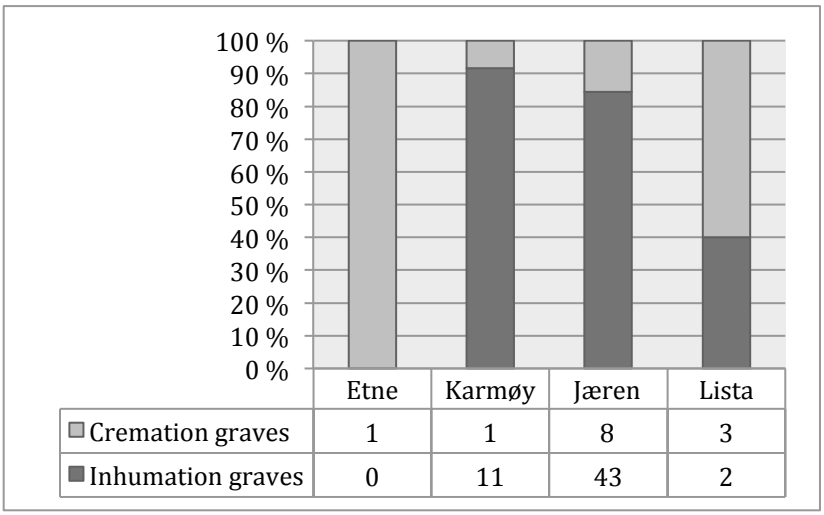


Figure 25: Distribution of cairns and barrows along the coast of southwest Norway. Lista is omitted.

6.4 TREATMENT OF THE DECEASED

The majority of Early Bronze Age burials are generally believed to be inhumation graves, but based on the 85 registered graves with museum numbers, it can be established that only 8.24% had traces of unburnt skeletal remains, and 9.41% contained fragments of burnt bone. The longer lifetime of burnt bone contra unburnt bone could be a partial factor to why there are more burnt bone in the grave material than vice versa (e.g. Holck 1986). Therefore, a method needs to be established in order to categorise the different burial practises. The cist construction fortunately can help to some extent. I have discovered that burnt bone is never connected to cists made by a dry stone technique – one possible exception is Svarthaug in Lista (see section 5.4.6) – or to cists made of standing stone slabs that are built to fit an adult body. The largest cremation graves are Steinhaug in Lista and Garahaugen in Etne, measuring 0.80 and 0.75 m in length respectively, which is too small to fit the body of a grown human – alternatively they could represent children's graves, though this seems highly unlikely as there is little evidence to support this claim. Furthermore, it seems that children buried in mounds are extremely rare, even in southern Scandinavia (Randsborg 1974:39). If the burials are sorted according to these general requirements, it makes the task considerably easier (see figure 26). Cremation practice is present throughout every period, but represents a minority compared to the inhumation graves. Nevertheless, I discovered cremation graves that were older than what was anticipated. In Jæren there is one cairn from Stokka from period I-II. In Etne we have Garahaugen from periods I–II, and at Lista there are three cremation graves, two tentatively dated to the Late Neolithic and one to the Early Bronze Age. Karmøy is only represented with one cremation grave, possibly from the Early Bronze Age.



	Etne	Karmøy	Jæren	Lista
Cremation graves	1	1	8	3
Inhumation graves	0	11	43	2

Figure 26: Inhumation graves contra cremation graves in the respective regions.

To sum up, inhumation burials are the dominant burial practice in periods II and III, although cremation burials are more visible at an early stage, both in the Late Neolithic and period I, particularly in Etne, Jæren, and Lista.

6.5 GENDER

The material has also been arranged according to gender. This is a complicated topic where the identification of a specific gender category is in danger of being subjectively interpreted by one's own cultural perceptions (Díaz-Andreu 2005:14). My own categorisation of gender is based on Liv Gibbs's (1998) interpretation of skeletons in graves from Zealand in Denmark. There are some pitfalls to using gender categories from a different area; however, the find categories display clear similarities with Jutland, as well as southwest Norway. Also, Gibbs' foundation in the physical and genetic elements of sex makes the gender/sex dichotomy far more approachable (e.g. Díaz-Andreu 2005). I have categorised graves as male, female, and indeterminable. Artefacts considered to be those of a male grave category are weapons such as swords and spears. Daggers are only considered male if other weapons or male artefacts such as tweezers, razors, fire-stroke stones, and smaller knifes are present, as female graves are also recorded with daggers (Randsborg 1986:147). Personal artefacts such as jewellery, which typically include tutuli, neck-collars, belt-plates, arm-rings, and in a few instances daggers, are sorted as female graves. Arm-rings do exist in male graves, though these are extremely rare and then usually made of gold with spiral-coiled ends (Kristiansen 2013:758). Still, the majority of the find material is sorted as indeterminable (cf. appendix).

By a comfortable margin, Jæren displays the highest number of female graves. No female graves can be recorded at Etne and Karmøy. Lista has one female grave tentatively dated to the Early Bronze Age period II. There is also a bronze plate[71] discovered in a secondary burial at Sverreshaug. However, the dating of this find is uncertain, and it easily could be from the Late Bronze Age. In period III, Karmøy has the most polarised male concentration from the find material, with no known female graves. In Denmark the number of female burials are only half as high as men (Randsborg 1974:39,54-55). Based on the variables given above, Jæren has an almost 50% ratio between male and female graves, much higher than anywhere else in Scandinavia. It should also be added that the largest concentration of female graves is during period II. In period II Denmark, female graves are only 40% of the male graves, with a slightly higher 50% in period III. The distribution of female graves is also interesting, with a clear cluster around the districts of Klepp and Time. Male graves are more scattered, but period III graves seem to be clustered further north, around Sola and Tananger (see figure 27).

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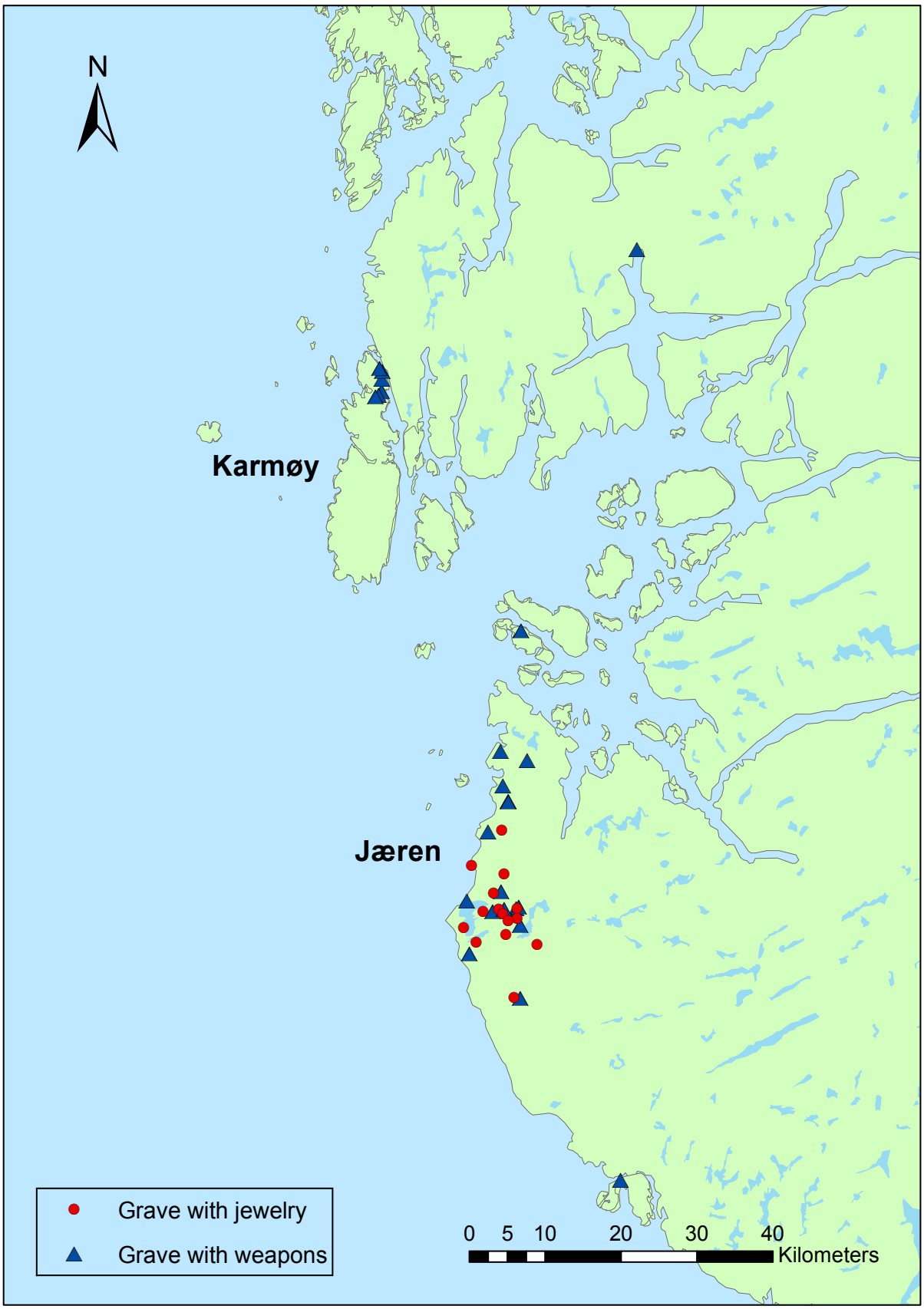

Figure 27: Gender distribution along the cost of southwest Norway, Etne and Lista are omitted.

6.6 ARTEFACTS

It is often believed that the Early Bronze Age society was socially stratified (Stylegar 2007:64). Still, the distribution of wealth is difficult to record, and many lighter and thinner artefacts are often more exposed to chemical changes and deterioration than heavier objects like swords and axes (Randsborg 1974:47-48). This could result in a misrepresentation of the overall number of bronzes; nevertheless, objects of bronze discovered in burial mounds, independent of type, must be considered an exclusive material for the upper strata of society, and allows us to differentiate regional social structures. Gold in graves is recorded in three of the regions and must be included as a signal of considerable wealth.

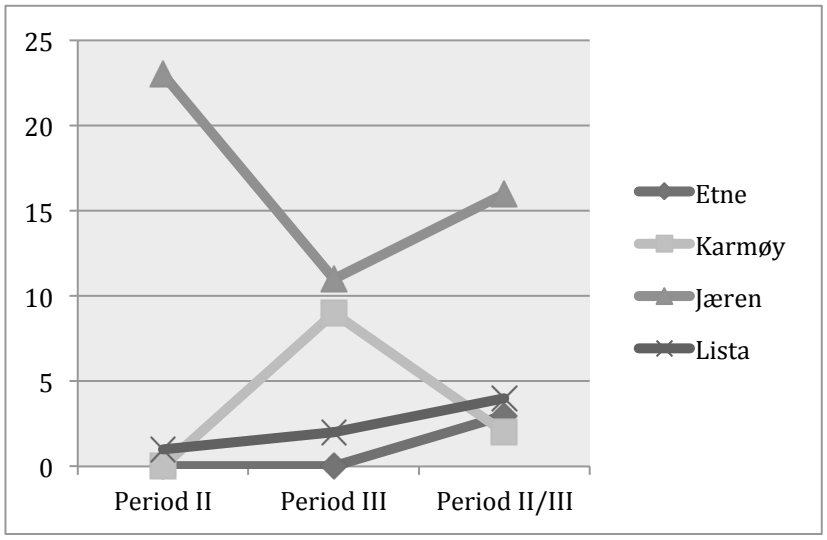

Figure 28: The relationship between graves from period II to period III (Period II/III are graves that could not be clearly dated). There is a strong regional change from Jæren in period II to Karmøy in period III. Period I is omitted due to low numbers.

The sudden rise in burial mounds at Karmøy in period III occurs at a time when there is a dramatic decline in burial mounds in Jæren (see figures 24 and 28). Such observations could indicate a change in power structure or a conflict between two competing regions. There could also be a connection between the strong warrior ethos found in period III graves in Karmøy and the sudden decline in bronzes in Jæren (see Chapter 7); if we include a lost sword from Guttormshaugen and a single find from Haugesund, over 50% of the burials at Karmøy contained weapons of some sort. Graves recorded with gold are few

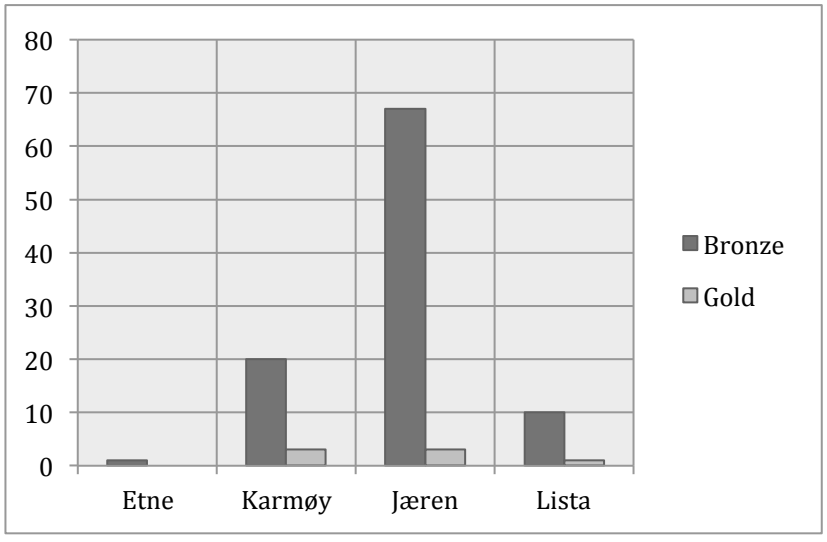

Figure 29: The actual number of artefacts of bronze and gold in graves.

and not sufficient to constitute a representative distribution of the precious metal, but it is worth mentioning that they are evenly distributed between Karmøy and Jæren. However, if we include the twisted arm-ring of gold that was lost in Kjørkhaug (see section 5.2.3), there are actually more graves recorded with gold in Karmøy than in Jæren or Lista. I have argued for a Late Neolithic date of the gold *noppenringe* from Lista (see section 5.4.8), but the golden artefacts from Karmøy and Jæren cannot be dated earlier than period III. This corresponds well with the general picture of Karmøy as a dominant presence throughout this period. Access to gold and other prestige objects have been explained as direct contact with Jutland (Solberg 1994). This should perhaps be seen in a new light as several gold mines have been recorded in areas north of Karmøy (Melheim 2009:29; 2012a:95-96).

To sum up, there are clear regional distribution patterns, with a strong concentration of bronzes in Jæren during period II. This changes quite dramatically in period III, where Karmøy becomes more dominant, and is also reflected in gold, which becomes more visible in the grave material in period III.

6.7 Summary and Preliminary Results

In this section, I have first and foremost tried to reveal structures in the available material in order to point out similarities and differences between the different regions. The results must be understood as part of a communal practice, structured by doxa (or orthodoxy–heterodoxy) in each region. As expected, the analysis displays clear interregional similarities, from everything to the burial mounds themselves to the artefacts within, which must connote cross-regional interaction. However, there are also clear lines of demarcation, which is most visible between Jæren and the other regions, particularly Karmøy. There are several contributing elements at play here. Foremost is the chronology were no other region have such a strong concentration of burial mounds in period II as Jæren – Karmøy has none. This is also reflected in the construction of the cist where Jæren has the overweighing number of cists constructed in a dry stone technique compared to the other regions where standing stone slabs are dominant if not exclusive. The orientations of cists are dominantly W-E in Jæren, whereas in Karmøy, cist alignment is generally N-S. Gender is also reflected in the material, where the number of female graves is nearly 50% of the total number of graves in Jæren. This is unparalleled anywhere else, the closest region is Lista with only one convincing female grave, possibly from period II.

The placement of burial mounds is more inter-regional, with clusters of earthen barrows usually situated on elevated locations in the landscape. Every region shares a close

connection to the maritime landscape, with the exception of Time in Jæren, which has a more characteristic inland setting. The majority of cairns are situated in the fjord districts and islands further north of Jæren, although a surprising number of cairns are erected along the coast of Jæren, entangled between the more dominant earthen barrows. In Karmøy, cairns and barrows are divided between the southern and northern part of the island, with the earthen barrows situated in the northern part.

The different structures outlined in this chapter needs to be interpreted as signs of social differentiation and interregional competition, but also similarities that will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

PART III

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

7 CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES

My aim in the present study has first and foremost been to examine social structures and how we can trace constructed identities in the archaeological record of burial mounds. The burial mound as a source of material to understand the social lives of prehistoric people is not new in archaeology, and one could easily argue that a large portion of our understanding of prehistory is a result of a disproportionate emphasis on the burial mounds as source material. Still, this focus has also resulted in generalizations that in my opinion have neglected regional differentiations. I am in no doubt that the burial mounds were part of a larger Tumulus culture that can be traced over greater parts of Europe, but it has neither been my goal nor my intention to argue for an ultra grand-narrative nor to differentiate southwest Norway as a separate group altogether. More so has it been an attempt to demonstrate how entangled and multivarious the construction of collective identities really are. My research has yielded homogenous material but also distinction and clear lines of demarcation. Yet, how should these structures be interpreted?

Before moving on to this discussion, I would like to recap what has been discussed so far. My thesis began with asking the question: *How can we trace collective identities in regional burial practices, and how have external relations influenced them*? In Chapter 2, I outlined a literature review of previously established discourses. One of my main concerns in that chapter was a mode of organizing the Bronze Age societies in southwest Norway from either a perspective where they were influenced by developments in southern Scandinavia or regional/local evolution. These perspectives were furthermore grounded in what I think are out-dated theories on culture dualism, leaving questions on identity – which in my opinion is both fixed and fluid – circumscribed and intellectually unchallenged. I therefore presented in Chapter 3 a theoretical framework that combined recent ideas on identity with the well-established theory of practice. This theory has been applied to numerous archaeological inquiries (e.g. Glørstad 2006; Bukkemoen 2007) but is practically non-existent in southwest Bronze Age research (although see Hauge 2007). Of course, my theoretical framework needs to be grounded in concrete context, this was presented in Chapter 5, and broken down and structured into smaller parts in Chapter 6, which showed Bronze Age societies that encompassed both similarities and differences in the material remains. This leads us back to my first question: how should these structures be interpreted? I have divided this question into two sections: the first will incorporate my results with my theoretical framework from

Chapter 3, the second part will attempt to outline these in relation to more practical interpretations of the societies in the Early Bronze Age.

Before I outline my theoretical ideas on social identification, it is necessary to sketch a short presentation of the periods preceding the Early Bronze Age in order to provide an idea of diachronic and historical structures that would have had an impact on societies in the Early Bronze Age. The beginning of the Neolithic is a complicated period with contradictory data and complex structures. The first pollen diagrams of grain cultivation were recorded in Lista in this period, though the material is scant and inconsistent (Kilhavn 2013:61-62). The emergence of the Battle Axe Culture in the Middle Neolithic saw several new changes, such as an increase in agricultural activity, more inland exploration, and an intensified exchange network, that seems to have included, to some extent, western Norway (cf. Bergsvik 2012). However, the period is still not very well understood and has been described as a "black box phase" (Prescott and Walderhaug 1995). At the transition to the Late Neolithic, there is a dramatic change in the social structure – a break with the doxic mode of living – with unambiguous signs of agro-pastoral production (cf. Prescott 1996). These changes are also concurrent with the Bell Beaker phenomenon in southern Scandinavia, together with the first evidence of direct contact across Skagerrak (e.g. Prescott 1996:85; Østmo 2012). The material culture in the Late Neolithic phase is relatively homogenous with a strong interregional exchange network and the use of flint daggers as prestigious items (e.g. Apel 2001). A strong concentration of Bell Beaker material is found in the area around Limfjorden and Thy in Jutland (Sarauw 2008; Prieto-Martínez 2008) – an area that from the Late Neolithic and into the Early Bronze Age was closely connected to southwest Norway (see section 7.1–7.2). We see an emergence of individual burials, predominantly cairns, and depositions of prestigious items; still, variations in burial practice are visible, with inhumation as well as cremation graves. The implications of these changes in the Late Neolithic with regard to the social structures in the Early Bronze Age are still an open question that I will comment on in the following sections.

7.1 Theoretical Ideas on Social Identification

Richard Jenkins (2000:7) argues that two independent processes are necessary for the classification and identification of the social episteme: the specification of similarities and of differences. If we apply this to a group, we can say that collective identification is structured by two socially constituted categories – the internal, taken-for-granted doxa and the external categorisation of others, structured either through heterodoxy or orthodoxy. In order for a

social group to categorise itself as 'us', it needs an external contrast which can be defined as 'them' (Barth 1969). Material manifestations will therefore accumulate through 'our' need for social differentiation. These structures become apparent when examining the material remains from the Early Bronze Age societies of southwest Norway. But to whom did they need to differentiate from? Based on the analysis (Chapter 6) we can clearly see groups in Jæren holding a dominant position throughout period II. The establishment of earth-constructed barrows in this area were swift and practically simultaneous with groups in southern Scandinavia; this would entail that groups in Jæren already had existing contacts across Skagerrak, and that their existing doxic mode of knowledge was not formed through resistance but acceptance and adaptation. Still, although clear material resemblance may have been recognised as part of a broad 'Nordic' identity, local variations are clearly visible in the burial practice in southwest Norway, such as composite barrows, central cairns, ornamented grave slabs, and perhaps most unique; cists made in a dry stone technique of small, horizontally laid slabs. How did such a practice come to pass? Such consequences are not always intended but can be a result of unintended consequences in history and identification (Jenkins 2000:22). Bourdieu (1990:53) explains it like this:

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to functions as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.

I interpret this as external influences, structured by historical habitual practice. The rise of burial mounds at the beginning of period II in Jæren can therefore be explained as a result of intended incorporation of a new external practice, but also formed through a historical practice – or simply put, habitus. Suffice it to say, there are several well-founded arguments that groups in southwest Norway and southern Scandinavia had already established a contact network from the Late Neolithic and onwards (see beginning of this chapter), and these arguments are supported by several finds attributable to influences from the Bell Beaker culture, particularly in Jæren and Lista (e.g. Skjølsvold 1977; Apel 2001; Prescott 2012b; Østmo 2012; Kilhavn 2013). Chapter 5 identified several graves that, despite being previously ascribed to the Early Bronze Age, actually could be dated to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period I. The small slab-lined cist discovered in a cairn at Stokka in

Sandnes (see section 5.3.4) from period I/II, contained, among other things, amber, which is extremely rare in this region, and in all likelihood originated from southern Scandinavia; the fact that it contained burnt bone could likewise be seen as external influence (e.g. Krause 2005). A *noppenring*[72] of gold found in a bog at Braut, Klepp, most probably from the Late Neolithic further supports a network across Skagerrak (Melheim 2012c:76-77). The same pattern is visible at Lista where we have a *noppenring* of gold from Klokkhammer, and both Steinhaugen at Kviljo and a cairn from Lundevågen indicate early cremation burials from the Late Neolithic – Svarthaug at Dyngvoll also seem to be an early cremation burial (see section 5.4.5 and 5.4.6). Garahaugen in Etne is yet another early example of a cremation burial, and together these examples challenge the classic idea of cremation burials as a Late Bronze Age phenomenon. Of course we must still consider inhumation burials as the dominant practice throughout this period (e.g. Østmo 2011), but it seems reasonable to argue that the Late Neolithic was a period where major changes occurred, and consolidation and acceptance of new ideas would have been incorporated with local practice (Prescott 2005:129-130). Thus, one could define the Late Neolithic as a frontier of social practice in which various expressions occurred and as an expansion and a vanguard of societies in the Early Bronze Age (Prescott and Melheim 2009:92).

The processes of transformation at the beginning of the Late Neolithic can be argued to be a break with experiences and knowledge of the habitus and the doxic mode of living. "It is when the social world loses its character as a natural phenomenon that the question of the natural or conventional character (*phusei* or *nomo*) of social facts can be raised" (Bourdieu 1977:169). The results of this is either heterodox or orthodox forms of knowledge that result in various representations or bricolages of social identity (Jones 1997:95). As argued in Chapter 3, these forms of knowledge will inevitably reproduce over time and be incorporated as part of a structured disposition of habitus. In my opinion, period II can be seen as a culmination of this process, particularly in Jæren where it was manifested in the construction of earthen barrows. However, the symbolic power that manifested itself in the material remains in Jæren would not have gone unnoticed by other groups. As Jenkins (2000:21) points out, external categorisation is necessarily significant in the processes of internal identification, and vice versa. A collective group exists through its own subjective recognition of itself, but just as important is how others recognise the group, resulting in an internal–external dialectic that will produce boundaries of identification (Jenkins 2004:117;

[72] S3585

Barth 1969). This categorisation by 'others' is, according to Jenkins (2004:83), immanent, and part of the reality of any group. It is reasonable to believe that the material and social power exerted by groups in Jæren throughout period II would have been recognised and categorised by the peripheries. The fact that there are no known barrows in Karmøy during period II makes it, in my view, an external objectified categoriser of groups in Jæren, which would effectively constitute itself as the 'other' group, and acknowledge the existence of choice through explicit critique in the form of heterodoxy or orthodoxy. Thus, Karmøy's categorisation of groups in Jæren would inadvertently result in their own identity construction, and explains why there is such a strong homogeneity in the material remains at Karmøy in period III. Perhaps most visible are the cists constructed of standing stone slabs, in an N-S alignment parallel with the strait. This does not only demonstrate a highly collective act, but an intentional position of the cist, which reflects a strong local awareness. There are also no known female graves at Karmøy, and the choice of artefacts is typically represented with weapons and male toiletries such as razors and tweezers. Reading identity through the material is not without its weaknesses though, and as pointed out by Jones (1997:135): "[…] the actual role of particular types of material culture in terms of identity cannot be subordinated to universal laws". It is therefore necessary to try and establish the relationship between the material remains and other processes of identification in concrete contexts. I have exemplified this through the dialectic relationship between groups in Jæren and Karmøy, but other external factors could have played an active role in in the process of categorisation that eventually resulted in the heterodox or orthodox construction of groups in Karmøy at the beginning of period III. Of particular relevance are groups in Etne and the surrounding inland fjord districts. In addition to Garahaugen, which can be dated to periods I-II, there are several single-context finds that support a strong inland region prior to period III. In Skeie in Vindafjord a bronze sword from period II was recovered from a barrow in a cist built in dry stone technique of small horizontally laid slabs (cf. appendix), and in Ølen several single context finds from the Late Neolithic and period II have been discovered, including the famous deposit at Lunde, where three magnificent shaft-hole axes in bronze were recovered in 1950, all dated to period II (Indrelid 1991:56). Furthermore, at Bømlo, an island north of Karmøy, stone quarries have been established from the Stone Age and onwards, and a bronze sword[73] dated to period II, has also been recovered from a bog in the same area (Melheim 2009:29). All of the above examples could have functioned as external

[73] B4954

factors that were categorised and identified by people in Karmøy that ultimately resulted in their social differentiation and construction of a group identity.

It is important to acknowledge that the construction of identity in each region is the *sine qua non* to each other. No group can exist entirely unaffected by the other, and it is therefore not surprising to see groups in Jæren change some of their structures as a result of the strong group mentality in Karmøy. In period II, Jæren had a strong assembly of graves with jewellery, nearly 50% of graves with weapons. This changes dramatically in period III where, in addition to graves becoming larger, graves with weapons become more dominant and there is a marked difference in barrow placement. Whereas period II graves with jewellery were concentrated in southern Sola, Klepp and Time, they now shift further north to Tananger and the Hafrsfjord inlet, dominated by weapon graves (see section 6.5). Cist construction also becomes more heterogeneous, and cists constructed in a dry stone technique become fewer in this period (see section 6.2). In addition to these changes there is an emergence of gold in graves during period III – both in Jæren and Karmøy. The visible changes in Jæren at the transition to period III, are effects that are affected by the emergence of power in Karmøy, which by then had already been effected by Jæren in period II. Both regions are therefore part of an on-going process of objectified knowledge and habitual subjective knowledge that transpires over a length of time – and periods.

Including Lista in this process have been more of a challenge. The region does not share Karmøy's striking homogenous cultural expression, nor does it share Jæren's rich concentration of bronzes and barrows. It is perhaps more appropriate to describe Lista as a bricolage of different social practices, in all likelihood as a consequence of earlier activities, one of them being the Bell Beaker package that served as a bridgehead for the introduction of Late Neolithic/Bronze Age structures (Prescott 2012b:116). I argue that the social structures in Lista must be seen in a *longue durée* of habitual practice but also incorporation. Comparatively, Lista shares its closest parallel with Jæren. In Chapter 6 this is seen in the landscape, the mounds themselves and artefacts – e.g. Ottenjann's type B hafts from Øvre Melberg and Jåsund. Most significant however is the shared history that can be traced back to the Late Neolithic, where the Bell Beaker material, such as triangular, bifacial pressure-flaked arrowheads, early metal, and amber, are predominantly clustered in these two areas. Thus, intended incorporation along with habitual practice could have formed societies in Lista very much in the same manner as Jæren, and should be related to Lista's well-established contact network with Jutland from the Late Neolithic (e.g. Petersen 1926; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Østmo 2005). However, societies in Lista were not only

shaped by processes from the south, but have through the preceding phases received a *longue durée* of external pressure from south, east, and west, consequently shaping Lista into an area with a large degree of heterogeneity, or to borrow a term by Barth (1983:165), a kaleidoscope of persons.

This section has demonstrated a theoretical framework of how different patterns traced though the material remains are outlines of groups and boundaries. These patterns are untidy, and entangled, based on different social layers and contexts. Moreover, they are based on historically constituted structures and active processes of categorisation. Nonetheless, a theoretical outline of social processes is not particularly relevant if it cannot be connected to concrete practicalities. These will be addressed in the section below.

7.2 A Practical Outline on Social Identification

In the previous section, I established a theoretical framework that identified regional differences along the southwest coast of Norway. Yet, how should this framework be adapted to provide insight into concrete practicalities? All the regions have shown an underlying normative ideal of the barrow. Yet, other elements vary considerably, and it is almost a paradox that the most comprehensive excavations of burial mounds also are the ones with the most complex and heterogeneous contexts (e.g. Kongshaugen, Molkhaugen, Øvre Meberg). This illustrates a strong sense of awareness, where the local and the interregional are effectively used to constitute a constructed identity. To understand these social processes, it is necessary to look beyond regional processes and towards developments further south, of which the closest parallel to southwest Norway has traditionally been ascribed to the region of Thy in southwest Jutland (e.g. Brøgger 1913; Lund 1938:39). Societies here developed a strong pastoral economy at the beginning of period II, usually attributed to the production of cattle (Kristiansen 2011:178). It appears that this economy was controlled by smaller groups or chieftains and would involve a surplus of food used to support labour and the acquirement of prestigious items. The constant need for prestigious goods and display of power linked the region to larger parts of Europe (Earle 1997:197), including southwest Norway. It is not unimaginable to suggest that a large portion of the bronzes found in graves in Norway were acquired and used to develop relationships of power. Still, an additional component used in the establishment of networks might be found in female burials.

7.2.1 THE FEMALE TRAVELLER – PERIOD II

Female graves show a clear marginal role in the grave material in Jutland, particularly during period II, where female graves are only 40% of the male graves (see section 6.5). During the same period in Jæren the female–male ratio is nearly 50%, a significantly larger number that is in need of further elaboration. In southern Scandinavia, high concentrations of female graves are generally connected to population density (Randsborg 1974); this also seems to apply in Jæren, where female graves are concentrated in an area around southern Sola, Klepp, and Time (see figure 27). The unusually high number of female graves is difficult to explain, especially since the numbers are not paralleled anywhere else, but raises the notion of exogamy as a plausible scenario. The idea that women married out to maintain power has been discussed on numerous occasions and documented throughout history, often regarded as the supreme gift (Mauss 1954; Lévi-Strauss 1969:65). Most recently, Sophie Bergerbrant's dissertation (2007) discusses the possibility of women as travellers. She does not include the material from southwest Norway but argues that women travelled from the Lüneburg culture of northern Germany to southern Scandinavia during period II, grounding it on typical Lüneburg artefacts and costumes (Bergerbrant 2007:119-120). No evidence show females moving in the other direction; however, a cairn in Offerlunden, Uppland, in Sweden indicates that southern Scandinavian women could have moved further north during the same period (Bergerbrant 2007:121). This is based on typical southern Scandinavian artefacts but also Continental pendants. Given the signs of exogamy in other parts of northern Europe, including Scandinavia, and considering the close material connection with northwest Jutland and southwest Norway I would say that the likelihood of communities in southern Scandinavia exercising this practice with groups in southwest Norway is highly plausible. This would explain why there is such a large concentration of female graves in the area around Klepp and Time as 'foreign' women would most likely have held a higher social and political status in society than 'local' women. There is also evidence that would suggest that high-ranking foreign women would have had an even greater influence on the community they moved to than foreign men:

> There seems to have been more contact between the two regions [Lüneburg and South Scandinavia] on the female side than on the male side […] the foreign woman buried in Fallingbostel influenced the community in which she was buried. This can clearly be seen in that so many parts of her costume continued to be used by the following generations. No foreign male burial seems to have had the same visual impact on the new area (Bergerbrant 2007:128; emphasis added).

As I mentioned before, high concentrations of female graves in southern Scandinavia are usually located in populated areas; for obvious reasons it is reasonable to assume that the same applies for Klepp/Time, thereby establishing the area as an important nodal place in period II. In Jutland, nodal places in networks are also accumulated in those places with the largest concentration of gold and full-hilted swords (Earle and Kristiansen 2010:227). This resembles the situation in Klepp/Time, with six registered swords and three golden artefacts from burials in the Early Bronze Age (cf. appendix). The female artefacts display a striking resemblance with artefacts from southern Scandinavia, albeit others could be more local, like the two arm-rings from Anda 1 (Hornstrup 2011:73) (cf. appendix). The artefacts from the female burial in Regehaugen (see section 5.3.3) display typological resemblance with artefacts found primarily in northern and western Zealand (Hornstrup 2011:71), and suggests networks far beyond the region of Thy in Jutland.

Whether the high concentration of female graves expressed exogamy and marriage alliances remains merely theoretical unless supported by scientific methods such as strontium isotope analysis of tooth enamels (see Price, et al. 2007). Still, historically speaking most traditional societies perceived marriage as a relationship between groups, not between individuals (Eriksen 2010:117), and one of the more common institutions in traditional societies is bride wealth. This practice entails that the groom's kin must give resources to the bride's kin. This type of payment creates a moral bond between two groups and effectively creates trading partners between lineages. I believe the reason for marrying exogamously in the Bronze Age was above all to gain alliances, which would mean access to and control of metal flows. Subsequently, marriages between two groups are also associated with stability, and anthropological studies have demonstrated how groups with shared affinal ties would mobilise and unite in situations of stress. The situation in southwest Norway in period II demonstrates a strong centralised region around Klepp/Time with little evidence of external pressure in the material record. Still, one of the most common causes for feuds between societies built on bride wealth occurs when someone fails to make their payment (Eriksen 2010:117, 122). Such a situation could have resulted in changes in network alliances and shifts towards a stronger warrior ethos, which is visible in the material record at the turn to period III in southwest Norway.

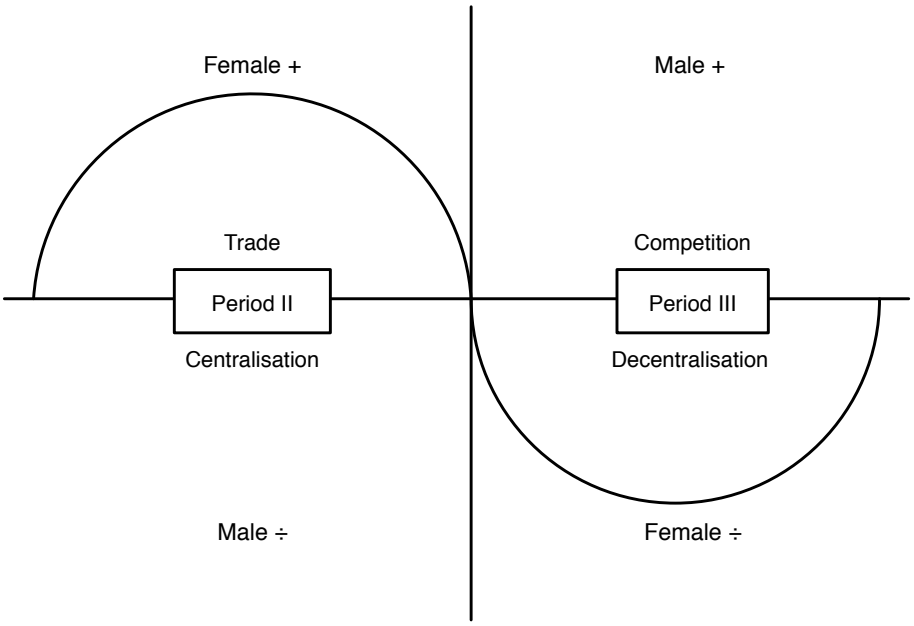

Figure 30: A visualisation of the dynamic relationship between female graves and the social structures in southwest Norway during period II and III. Period II display a strong female concentration, together with trade and centralisation. Period III display a strong male concentration, together with competition and decentralisation.

7.2.2 THE MALE TRAVELLER – PERIOD III

The male traveller is a common idea in Early Bronze Age research. Kristiansen (2011) has long argued for the travelling male individual and how journeys and foreign knowledge were important for gaining status. These ideas are anchored in the 'international' warrior chief, who was able to travel, trade, and maintain political alliances *vis-à-vis* the ritual chief who stayed at home. A warrior chief is recognised through the flange-hilted sword, an international type that can be traced from Scandinavia down to south-central Europe (Earle and Kristiansen 2010:237). Only two known examples are registered in southwest Norway, one from a grave in Karmøy (see section 5.2.4) and a second discovered at the bottom of a lake in Hå[74], both dated to period III. To my knowledge only two other flange-hilted sword have been discovered in Norway, one from a cairn in Nord Trøndelag[75], and the second from bog in Vinje in Nordland[76], also these can be typologically dated to period III (cf. Broholm 1944:Planche 25). There are therefore no data available to support this type of social structure in southwest Norway – or Norway in general – in period II. The period is recognised through strong centralization in Jæren, principally around Klepp, Time, and the southern parts of

[74] S2969
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Sola, and the need to express power may instead have been focused internally. Later, with the emergence of Karmøy at the beginning of period III, a more strained and competitive region develops towards a more warrior-focused ideal (see section 6.6). In southern Scandinavia, the flanged-hilted sword becomes especially numerous in period III and has been connected to warfare, ecological disasters, and collapse of foreign relations (Earle and Kristiansen 2010). These structures have also been related to the Urnfield expansion at the beginning of period III and the collapse of states in the Aegean (Vandkilde 2007a:139-140).

Towards the end of period II in Thy, ecological resources seem to have diminished, as documented by smaller and poor-quality timber in house constructions, bog turf used instead of wood for heating, and an increased grassing pressure. This argument is supported by local pollen diagrams that show massive forest clearances that already began in the Late Neolithic (Kristiansen 1998a:282; 1998b:107). The declining condition in Thy may have been an incentive for the changing power structures in southwest Norway at the beginning of period III. Network alliances could have become increasingly strained or challenged by other groups. Existing alliance-networks between Jæren and Thy may have collapsed and new ones formed. In southwest Norway we see an intensified building of barrows outside of Klepp/Time, towards the northern part of Sola, Tananger, and Randaberg. A majority of these are male graves that would suggest a new emphasis on power display, exemplified by Sothaug, the largest barrow in Jæren (see section 5.3.2). At the turn to period III we also see a dramatic decrease in female graves and in the grave material in Karmøy we see the emergence of a strong polarised male concentration, represented by typical male artefacts such as swords, spears, daggers, and toiletries. The emergence of a strong group identity in Karmøy is visible at an early stage. Fyrstegraven, dated to the beginning of period III (see section 5.2.1), is not just the earliest grave from Karmøy, it is also the richest and suggests a rapid accumulation of a chiefly society. This is also reflected in burial size, which can be observed both in Karmøy and Jæren. I have previously illustrated how the large size of Sothaug could have been used to exert an outward expression of power. Among the barrows at Reheia in Karmøy, Fyrstegraven, Guttormshaugen, and Mound nr. 30 are all of a parallel size to Sothaug according to calculations done by Nordenborg Myhre (1998:Figure 81), this would entail a strong emphasis on size and how it played as an important element to express power, particularly in period III.

The intensification of male graves in Jæren, together with the rise of a strong male concentration in Karmøy, and the appearance of two flange-hilted swords are all compelling signs of a changing social structure at the beginning of period III. The change may have been

unleashed by, or brought on by changes in network-alliances outside of southwest Norway i.e. Thy, but internal developments, and categorisations that already began in period II (see section 7.1) played an equal part in the increase of male graves on both sides of the Boknafjord.

The scenario outlined above could have been an incentive for the clear lines in cist construction between the two competing regions (see section 6.2), one where a collective group in Karmøy wanted to be recognised through its new external alliances, effectively differentiating itself from Jæren through the construction of standing stone slabs (heterodoxy – orthodoxy). The same pattern is visible in Lista where the majority of cists are made of standing stone slabs. Unfortunately, the greater part of these cannot be placed within a specific period (cf. appendix), and if we look at historical developments, then Lista shares more similarities with Jæren (see section 6.1). Lista and Jæren are also connected in period III through two full-hilted bronze swords from Meberg and Sothaug. The two swords have been ascribed by Engedal (2010:63) to Ottenjann's type B hafts, which are usually clustered around northwest Jutland. The swords are so typologically similar that it is likely that the two regions continued to share some form of alliance.

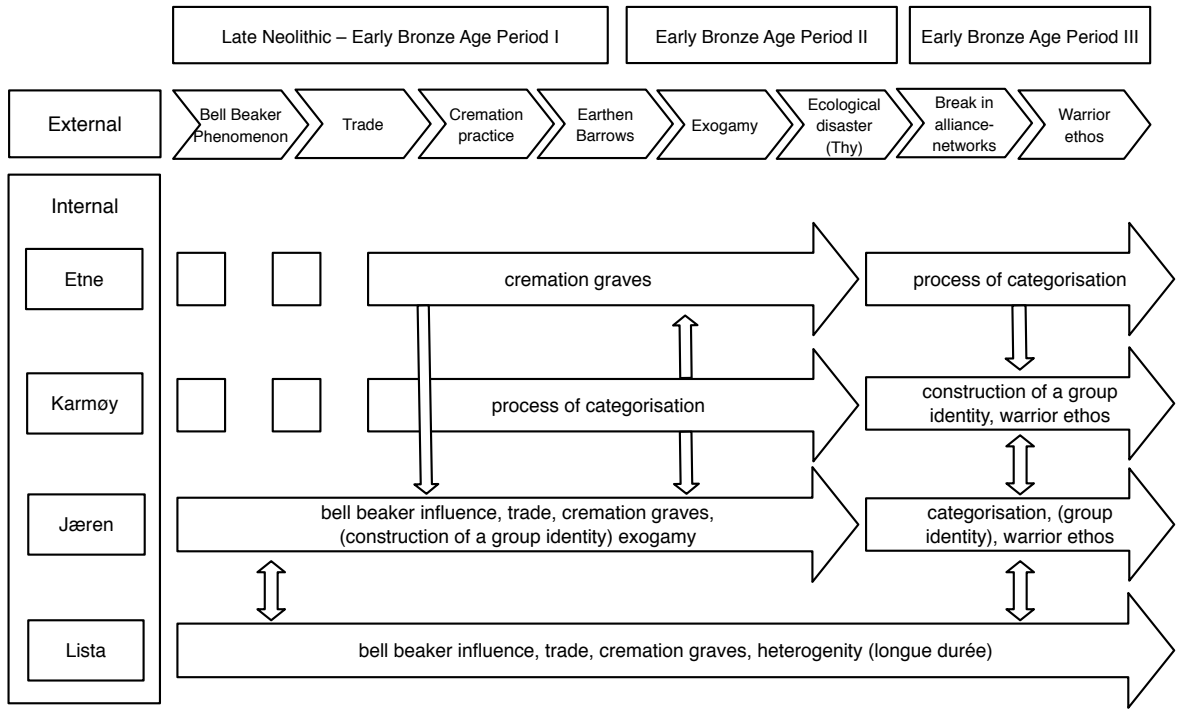

Figure 31: Interaction model between external and internal influences and how they have been adopted internally in southwest Norway. The small vertical arrows demonstrate how local groups have been influenced by, and through processes of categorisation and interaction with other groups.

7.2.3 THE MULTISPATIAL CAIRN

The cairn is present in all of the studied areas and needs to be addressed as an item of social identification. The homogenous construction of the cairn differs from the more regional varied barrow. The majority of cairns in the investigated areas cannot be placed within a specific period; however, based on their form and placement within the landscape, they demonstrate a wide interregional scope with connection to the Bronze Age (see section 6.3). Their closeness to the shoreline and placement on elevated locations indicates that they served as specific markers in the landscape, and based on the analysis in Chapter 6, their placement often addresses courses of movement along pathways/seaways (see figure 25). The same pattern can be traced in other parts of Scandinavia. Peter Skoglund's (2005) dissertation on the southern cairns in Sweden, deals with cairns as multispatial. The cairn did not just have one spatial meaning, but several, depending on which aspect of the monument we study. For example, the material used for building the cairn and artefacts placed within it can be gathered from the local surroundings. The cairn could otherwise have served on a purely practical level as a side effect of clearing areas of stone and making them into arable fields (Thrane 1998:271). However, the form of the cairn has a more general construction, found over larger parts of Scandinavia. The same goes for the placement of the cairn, which is distinctly local, but also interregional in that its placement can evoke associations with cairns elsewhere (Skoglund 2005:250-251). This ascribes to the cairn a function beyond a local burial mound, one where it serves as a landmark and as lines of movement for unfamiliar travellers.

The Bronze Age barrows for a long time have been ascribed a secondary use, at least in parts of Jutland. In Müller's (1904) classic study he notes that lines of barrows coincides with old roads. The dating and mapping of primitive roads is difficult, but the theory was later supported by several researchers (e.g. Thrane 1998; Holst, et al. 2001; Johansen, et al. 2004). The earthen barrows in southwest Norway are too few and scattered to establish any plausible road system, however, seeing that the sea was, in all likelihood, an important travel route, the cairns ascribe a use as a markers in the landscape. If we were to follow the cairn in figure 23, we see that cairns in the south are situated more inland. This could indicate that rivers and inland pathways were used for bypassing the dangerous and inhospitable North Sea. This is also exhibited at Lista where inland sailing routes and passageways were used to avoid the dangerous winds and currents around Listalandet (see section 6.1). From Orre and further north, cairns become more frequent and follow a line through Hafrsfjord, past the islands north of Randaberg, across Boknafjorden, crossing the strait between Austre and

Vestre Bokn, before arriving in Karmøy. Beyond the out-dated culture dualism debate, this framework describes cairns and earthen barrows as part of an intertwined structure of local and interregional identification.

7.3 Re-Considering Social Structures In The Early Bronze Age

My initial aim with this study was to establish a more detailed and dynamic picture of the social structures along the coast of southwest Norway, but an adjacent aim has been to create a more dialectic discourse between the regional and interregional dichotomy. Identity as a concept does in many ways serve as a tool to answer both of these questions. As I have argued throughout this study, identity is constructed through a bricolage of internal and external elements. It is an interactional product of external identification by others, but also internal self-identification (Jenkins 2004:176). By this I mean that as an analytical tool *identity* demonstrates how local practice is effectively influenced by foreign external structures in a way that makes it a mediator between local perspectives and grand-narrative perspectives. There are particularly three elements that establish *identity* as an analytical tool to help us approach a more dialectic discourse:

- Identity is structured by a historically constituted habitus. Historical context must therefore be taken into account.
- Identity is structured by peripheral local development, demonstrated for instance in the case of Etne and Karmøy in this present study. Peripheral local developments can therefore not be ignored.
- Identity is always affected by interregional developments. A large-scale, grand-narrative perspective is therefore an important structuring element for local peripheral groups in the Early Bronze Age.

If we adopt and follow these three sub-sections in Bronze Age studies it is possible to approach a more dialectic discourse that can give a more dynamic picture of the history in the Bronze Age. Yet, as argued by Prescott (2012a:215), developing a history of the earliest Bronze Age will be a long-term undertaking, and is beyond the scope of this study. However, I do believe that this study has established a framework that can be built upon in future research. In Chapter 2 it was argued that previous research on burial mounds and the Early Bronze Age in general has been written from a perspective that see societies in southwest

Norway in a cultural communality with societies in southern Scandinavia. Although I do not neglect these assertions, I believe the complicated relationship between internal groups have been marginalised, disregarding social processes. I have therefore throughout this study emphasised how it is possible to gain a more dynamic picture of the Early Bronze Age by following the sociological framework outlined in Chapter 3.

Based on the data presented in parts I and II follows here a more dynamic outline of groups and boundaries in the Early Bronze Age. After an initial break with doxa at the beginning of the Late Neolithic, groups in southwest Norway seem to have been in direct contact across Skagerrak. This is for example indicated by several finds attributed to the Bell Beaker phenomenon with a shift toward a more homogenous cultural expression. Developments in the Late Neolithic are unfortunately beyond the scope of this study but are nevertheless relevant as structuring elements for groups in the Early Bronze Age. In Etne, Jæren, and Lista structures from the Late Neolithic appears to have had an impact on the burial practice, reflected in early cremation graves. These changes were later bound up in period II with a strong centralisation in mid-Jæren, partly as a result of a natural harbour at Orre. The presence of high stature foreign women contributed to a strong network across Skagerrak and linked groups directly together. Foreign influence may also have influenced groups on a cosmological level, and is arguably why the area around Klepp, Time, and southern Sola has the highest concentration of abstract/geometric figures on grave slabs (Syvertsen 2005:507-508). Based on material remains, period II can be described as a stable period with little emphasis on warrior ethos.

Meanwhile, these structures of identification were categorised and identified by groups in Karmøy that effectively used them to express and construct their own identity. Here, people identified themselves as a group and consequently excluded themselves from others (Etne, Jæren, Lista) who in turn identified them, demonstrating identity's complex dialectic. The establishment of a group in Karmøy was also structured by the landscape, or more precisely the strait, which was a natural place for travellers to seek rest or shelter from the North Sea. Through a well-organized group, the narrow strait would have been a vital resource for control of prestigious items and metal flows further north. Still, developments further south, i.e. environmental disaster in Thy, the onset of the Urnfield expansion, and the collapse of city-states in the Aegean, may all have effected and altered groups and alliances-networks further north, including groups in southwest Norway. The Urnfield expansion has also been interpreted as a rise of a new warrior elite over larger parts of Europe (Vandkilde 2007a:139-140). This resonates in the material of southwest Norway, particularly in Karmøy

and is reflected in the grave material, which is mainly represented by weapons and male toiletries. A flange-hilted sword discovered in one of the burial mounds, often interpreted as a symbol of an international warrior chief (e.g. Kristiansen and Larsson 2005), further supports this. The remarkable homogenous construction of the barrow is yet another example that demonstrates how groups in Karmøy did not randomly choose their material representation. These were conscious, well-founded choices, in order to express a local identity. Of course, this does not mean that they did not consider themselves part of a larger Nordic Bronze Age, on the contrary; however, excluding themselves from a power structure that had dominated and ruled across their boarders throughout period II would have had a differentiating effect on groups in Karmøy. This is why in Chapters 5 and 6 there is such a strong homogeneity in the material remains, amplified through a male warrior ethos.

A power structure in Karmøy would not have gone unnoticed by groups in Jæren, and a similar focus can be traced here. This is suggested by a dramatic decline in female graves and a stronger focus on male weapon graves, together with a location shift further north around Sola and Tananger. Accompanying the male graves are also larger burial mounds, reflected on both sides of Boknafjorden. It is reasonable to connect developments in Jæren during period III as answers to a new and threatening group in Karmøy, which experienced a remarkable upsurge of wealth through new alliance-networks. Lista echoes many of the same developments found in Jæren. There is arguably a more heterogeneous representation in the grave material in Lista than in any of the other regions, which was most likely formed through a longue durée of external influence.

The constructed identity in southwest Norway displays dynamic relationships where foreign structures are incorporated and adopted into already existing practices. The region also demonstrates an internal differentiation that would suggest a high level of consciousness, maintaining Barth's (1969) classic idea that pressured groups become aware of their collective identity. This internal differentiation illustrates that identities were highly variable and complex, with the ability to maintain larger interregional identities along with the unique and local.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

Like identity itself, this study has been a bricolage of different analytical and theoretical discourses that build upon the notion that identity is both structured and structuring.

The focus has been on the burial mounds in southwest Norway, and how variations in construction, placement, and artefacts have played an active role in the construction of a

group's collective identity. The burial mounds are seen as reflections of choices made by the bereaved in situations of stress; however, these choices are complicated actions formed through historical structures and external relations.

The initial intent was to provide a more dynamic and renewed look at a longstanding debate on the Early Bronze Age in southwest Norway. This does not mean that my research successfully discovered a definitive answer to these questions. On the contrary, the study of identity in the Bronze Age is complicated and fascinating and in need of future studies in order to construct a more detailed and varied picture of the past. A comprehensive artefact study, including deposits and loose finds, is a necessary next step for tracing the construction of identity in the Early Bronze Age, as is a more extensive study on foreign developments that would have impacted local societies directly or indirectly. There is also a need for new scientific methods. The preservation of buried human remains varies considerably, and consequently the details in which we can study the identity of the dead (Holst 2013:106). New scientific methods will therefore be decisive for future studies on the burial practice along the southwest coast of Norway. Methods such as metallurgical analysis (e.g. Melheim 2012b), have already been used in order to trace the origin of the bronze but other scientific techniques such as micromorphic analysis, isotopic analysis of skeletal remains, and aDNA may become important tools for underlining prior, more social interpretations of the past.

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APPENDIX

Comment to appendix I: Catalogue of graves in Southwest Norway.

Burial mounds with no known local name have been given the name of its farmstead with a number starting from 1 and upward. Several burial mounds do not have a known location, these have been given coordinates based on the farmstead, and marked as *unclear location* in the catalogue. Burial mounds that have either been destroyed or removed due to excavations have been identified as *removed* in the comments field.

I have chosen to include several burial mounds that are either unexcavated or with no known finds. These are tentatively dated by Nordenborg Myhre's (2004) to the Early Bronze Age, based on construction, size and distribution alone. I have included these, as there are no updated catalogues of burial mounds from the Early Bronze Age in southwest Norway, and they might become of value for future studies. They have also been included as a comply to a request by Thrane (2009:17) who encouraged northern Scandinavian researchers to see the value of comparative studies that are based on groundwork and published catalogues (e.g. Aner, et al. 2001). This catalogue is a small contribution to this request.

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Kyrkjehaugen	B7757, B7656a-c	BRA	75		Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	flint, ceramics, razor, burnt bone (LBA)	Barrow			Indeterminable	LBA?	Fett 1963, Myhre 1972
Olahaugen	B6592 Ia-d, II	BRA	35	10	Hordaland	Etne	Støle	urn from LBA	Barrow			Indeterminable	LBA?	Fett 1963, Myhre 1972
Lyndehaugen		BRA	36		Hordaland	Etne	Sørheim		Barrow			Indeterminable		Fett 1963
Garahaugen	S2849?	I/II	36		Hordaland	Etne	Sørheim	bronze dagger?	Barrow		NW-SE	Indeterminable		Fett 1963, Myhre and Myhre 1970, Myhre 1972
Eigersund 1	B4466	III			Rogaland	Eigersund		knife	Barrow			Male	unclear location	
Storhaugen	S3412a-c	EBA	5	45	Rogaland	Eigersund	Myklebust	bone, organic material, flint	Barrow	Dry stone technique	W-E	Indeterminable		Brøgger 1910
Storasund 1	B5875a-c	BRA	33		Rogaland	Haugesund	Storasund	knife (per. IV), burnt bone, snail house (*bucino undatum*)	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	seashells on bedding, removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Dyrshaug	B5003a-e	EBA	26		Rogaland	Hå	Bø	blade/razor, bronze plate, ceramics, ceramics, burnt ceramics	Barrow	Dry stone technique	NE-SW	Male		Gustafson 1892, Myhre 2013
Bø 1	S3410	II	26		Rogaland	Hå	Bø	sword/dagger	Cairn			Male	described as a cairn	Engedal 2010, Myhre 2013
Kvia 1	S9347	BRA	19		Rogaland	Hå	Kvia	ceramics, burnt bone	Barrow			Indeterminable	only finds from LBA, unclear location.	
Nærland 1	S2059	II	7		Rogaland	Hå	Nærland	button and pommel of a dagger	Barrow			Indeterminable	most likely from a barrow (unimus)	

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Søyland 1	S4452	BRA	3		Rogaland	Hå	Søyland	ornamented capstone	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	NW-SE	Indeterminable	charcoal and fragments of pottery were also discovered	
Vigrestad 1	B4320a-c, C13457	EBA	77		Rogaland	Hå	Vigrestad	neck-collar, belt-plate, bow of brooch, pin of brooch	Barrow			Female	unclear location	Aakvik 2000, Engedal 2010
Årsland	S10043n	EBA	69	2, 11	Rogaland	Hå	Årsland	charcoal, ceramics, flint	Barrow			Indeterminable		Lillehammer 1976
Mound nr. 21		BRA			Rogaland	Karmøy	"Reheia"		Stone setting			Indeterminable	Bendixen's map nr. 21	Bendixen 1877, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Mound nr. 30	Lost	BRA			Rogaland	Karmøy	"Reheia"	burnt bones	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	N-S	Indeterminable	Bendixen's map nr. 30	Bendixen 1877, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Mound nr. 31		BRA			Rogaland	Karmøy	"Reheia"		Barrow			Indeterminable	Bendixen's map nr. 31	Bendixen 1877, Nordenborg Myhre 1998, 2004
Knaghaug	B5046	III	146		Rogaland	Karmøy	Bø	sword	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Male		Gustafson 1893, Shetelig 1907, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kjørkhaug	B5310	III	143	21	Rogaland	Karmøy	Gunnarshaug	dagger blade	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable		Shetelig and Brøgger 1905, Nordenborg Myhre
Kubbhaug	B5952a-e	III	143	2	Rogaland	Karmøy	Gunnarshaug	dagger blade, razor, brooch, double-stud, pair of tweezers	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Male		Shetelig and Brøgger 1905, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Fyrstegraven	B999, C566, C567,	III	127	2	Rogaland	Karmøy	Nedre Hauge	spearhead, sword, scabbard,	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Male		Christie 1842, Møllerop

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
	C568, C569, C570a-b							chape, double-stud, brooch, unburnt bones						1963b, Nordenborg Myhre 1998, 2004
Nedrebø 1		BRA	4		Rogaland	Bokn	Nedrebø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nedrebø 2		BRA	4		Rogaland	Bokn	Nedrebø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kongshaugen	S9355a-i	III	97	1,9	Rogaland	Karmøy	Ringen	burnt bone and teeth, bone, pottery, bone, pottery, pottery, bone, pearl, bone	Cairn	Dry stone technique	NW-SE	Indeterminable		Møllerop 1963a, Sjurseike 2001, Nordenborg Myhre 1998b, 2004
Håvardshaugen	B6129	BRA	136	4	Rogaland	Karmøy	Skjølingstad	ornamented stone slab	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Storesund 1	B2772	BRA	142		Rogaland	Karmøy	Storesund	pair of tweezers	Barrow			Male	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Storesund 2	B5765a-c	III	142		Rogaland	Karmøy	Storesund	brooch, knife, sword	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	NNW-SSE	Male	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Storesund 3	S6247	EBA	142		Rogaland	Karmøy	Storesund	bone	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	E-W	Indeterminable	unclear location, removed	Kristen Lindøe 1934, Nordenborg Myhre 1998a, 2004
Guttormshaugen	B546, B548?, B547?	III	85		Rogaland	Karmøy	Uvik	double-stud, leaf gold, burnt bone	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Mound nr. 11	B1616, B1893	III	85		Rogaland	Karmøy	Uvik	leaf gold, twisted arm-ring of gold	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	N-S	Male	Bendixens map nr. 11	Bendixen 1877, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Anda 1	S3672a-b	II	14		Rogaland	Klepp	Anda	arm-ring, arm-ring	Barrow	"Hybrid"	E-W	Female	burnt bone in central cist	Brøgger 1913

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Anda 2	C4927, C4928, C4929, C4930, C4931, C4932	II/III	14		Rogaland	Klepp	Anda	dagger, brooch, knife, brooch, brooch, unknown bronze	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Male	removed	Møllerop 1963, Larsen 1996
Toftehaugen	S1457	II	14		Rogaland	Klepp	Anda	sword	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Male	birch bark reported	Engedal 2010
Molkhaug	S6020a-i, S6020k-n	II/III	45		Rogaland	Klepp	Bore	bone, tutulus, bronze tube, bone, bone, shell (*littorina littorea*), ceramics, bone, firestroke-stone, belt buckle, stone, ornamented grave slab, ceramics	Barrow	"Hybrid"	Cist 1:WSW-ENE, Cist 2:N-S	Cist 1: Female	poorly built, large moraine stones, removed	Lund 1934
Stavhaug	B5611, S4036	EBA	43		Rogaland	Klepp	Borsheim	part of ornamented grave slab, ornamented grave slab	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	copper verdigris, and beach pebbles on floor	
Erga 1	S406	III	30		Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	tutulus	Barrow			Female		
Friestad 1	B1010	III	24		Rogaland	Klepp	Friestad	sword	Barrow			Male		
Friestad 2		EBA	24		Rogaland	Klepp	Friestad		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Friestad 3		EBA	24		Rogaland	Klepp	Friestad		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Friestad 4		EBA	24		Rogaland	Klepp	Friestad		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Store Grudhaug		EBA	3		Rogaland	Klepp	Grude		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Litle Grudhaug	S3967a-b	II	3	12	Rogaland	Klepp	Grude	sword, unburnt bone	Cairn			Male		de Lange 1917
Jonsokhaugen	B4716	III	42		Rogaland	Klepp	Hodne	dagger	Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Gustafson 1890
Håhaugen	S3506	EBA	42		Rogaland	Klepp	Hodne	ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	
Hodne 1	S1022, S4091, S4158	III	42		Rogaland	Klepp	Hodne	sword, twisted arm-ring of gold, ornamented grave slab	Barrow	Dry stone technique	NNW-SSE	Male	removed	Buch 1880, de Lange 1919
Kleppe 1	B2844	II			Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe	belt-plate/shield	Barrow	Dry stone technique	NW-SE	Female	removed	
Kleppe 2		EBA	1		Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kleppe 3		EBA	1		Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kleppe 4		EBA	1		Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kleppe 5		EBA	1		Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kleppe 6	S1638	III	1		Rogaland	Klepp	Kleppe	bronze knife	Barrow			Male		
Nese 1	B3578, B3874a-c	II			Rogaland	Klepp	Nese	tutulus, tutulus, plate, flint	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Female	unclear location	
Nese 2		EBA	25		Rogaland	Klepp	Nese		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location, removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Nese 3	S9785	EBA	25		Rogaland	Klepp	Nese	ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	
Nord-Braut 1	S4227a-d	II	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut	belt-plate, arm-ring, arm-ring, bone	Barrow	Dry stone technique	E-W	Female		de Lange and Petersen 1925, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 2		EBA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 3		BRA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 4		BRA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 5		BRA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 6		EBA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 7		EBA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nord-Braut 8?		EBA	21		Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Orre 1		EBA	40		Rogaland	Klepp	Orre		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Orre 2		EBA	40		Rogaland	Klepp	Orre		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Orre 3		EBA	40		Rogaland	Klepp	Orre		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Orre 4		EBA	40		Rogaland	Klepp	Orre		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Ljoshaug	S859	II	40		Rogaland	Klepp	Orre	tutulus	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Female		Buch 1879, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Pollestad 1	S3361b	II	31		Rogaland	Klepp	Pollestad	tutulus				Indeterminable	unclear location, possibly from a burial mound	Engedal 2010
Sele 1	B2598	III	51		Rogaland	Klepp	Sele	two spiral formed finger rings in gold	Cairn			Female	pottery and burnt bones were also disovered	
Steinhaug	S9633a-aq	LN/EBA	16		Rogaland	Klepp	Særheim		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Særheim 1	B3322a-c	II	16		Rogaland	Klepp	Særheim	belt-plate, arm-ring, brooch	Barrow			Female		
Sør-Braut 1	S1272, S1273, S1274	II	20	9	Rogaland	Klepp	Sør-Braut	neck-collar, arm-ring, tutulus	Barrow	Dry stone technique	N-S	Female		Buch 1881, Møllerp 1963, Larsen 2004, Engedal 2010
Sør-Braut 2		EBA	20		Rogaland	Klepp	Sør-Braut		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjøtta 1	S4265a-c	II	18	5	Rogaland	Klepp	Tjøtta	belt-plate, tutulus, brooch	Barrow			Female	unclear location, removed	Møllerop 1963, Larsen 1996, Engedal 2010
Tjøtta 2	B4894	EBA	18		Rogaland	Klepp	Tjøtta	ornamented grave slap	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Indeterminable	unclear location, removed	
Tu 1	B2558	III	17		Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	sword shaft	Barrow			Male	unclear location	
Vasshus 1	B4098	II	48		Rogaland	Klepp	Vasshus	tutulus	Barrow			Female		
Lynghaug	S7020, S7620	II	39		Rogaland	Klepp	Vik	sword	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Male		Møllerop 1963, Larsen 1996, Engedal

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
														2010
Megershaug		EBA	51		Rogaland	Randaberg			Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Harestad 1		EBA	49		Rogaland	Randaberg	Harestad		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Harestad 2		EBA	49		Rogaland	Randaberg	Harestad		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Odderøysa		EBA	49		Rogaland	Randaberg	Harestad		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Rauhaug		EBA	54		Rogaland	Randaberg	Indre Bø		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Storerøysa		EBA	54		Rogaland	Randaberg	Indre Bø		Cairn			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Sande 1		EBA	53		Rogaland	Randaberg	Sande		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Krosshaug	S3737a-c	EBA	59	29	Rogaland	Randaberg	Viste	ceramics, bone, shell	Barrow	"Hybrid"	ENE-WSW	Indeterminable	removed	Helliesen 1900, Gjessing 1914, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Børudla		EBA	55		Rogaland	Randaberg	Ytre Bø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Lynshaug		EBA	55		Rogaland	Randaberg	Ytre Bø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Askje 1		EBA	46		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Askje		Cairn			Indeterminable	Mosterøy	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 1		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Bru 2		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 3		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 4		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 5		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 6		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Bru 7		EBA	44		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Bru		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
"Øygarden"	S4975a-e	II	52		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Haugvallstad	spearhead, burnt bone, flint, flint, charcoal	Barrow			Male		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Hodnafjell		EBA	50		Rogaland	Rennesøy	Hodnafjell		Cairn			Indeterminable	Mosterøy	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Lunde 1	S6870	II	47		Rogaland	Sandnes	Lunde	brooch	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Engedal 2010
Stokka 1	S10184a-c	I	67		Rogaland	Sandnes	Stokka	flint dagger, flint sickle, amber	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	mixed cairn, unclear location, removed	Løken 1978, Melheim 2006, Østmo 2011
Untitled	B3619	EBA			Rogaland	Sola		flint	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kjellehaug		EBA	25	23	Rogaland	Sola	Byberg		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Svarthaug		EBA	25	23	Rogaland	Sola	Byberg		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Lynghaug		EBA	27	5	Rogaland	Sola	Dysjaland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Valhaug		EBA	27	14	Rogaland	Sola	Dysjaland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Harvaland	S6472	BRA	26		Rogaland	Sola	Harvaland	ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Hedland 1		BRA	24	3	Rogaland	Sola	Hedland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Hedland 2		BRA	24	3	Rogaland	Sola	Hedland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tormodsvarden		EBA	24	5	Rogaland	Sola	Hedland		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Hellestø 1		EBA	23		Rogaland	Sola	Hellestø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Trollrudla		EBA	23		Rogaland	Sola	Hellestø		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Håland 1	B449, B908, B909	EBA	21	1,2	Rogaland	Sola	Håland	brooch, razor, button	Barrow			Male		Engedal 2010
Sothaug	C1045a/S7 425a, C1045b/S7 425b, C1045c	III	1		Rogaland	Sola	Jåsund	sword, piece from bronze button, pieces of cloth	Barrow	Dry stone technique	NNW-SSE	Male		Nicolaysen 1875, Myhre 1980, Larsen 1996, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Myklebust 1	S269, S270, S271	EBA	3		Rogaland	Sola	Myklebust	ornamented grave slab, stone with cup-marks, stone with cup-marks	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	removed	Buch 1878, Helliesen 1901, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Rege 1		EBA	17	57	Rogaland	Sola	Rege		Barrow	Dry stone technique		Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

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Rege 2	B4054, S6502	EBA	17	57	Rogaland	Sola	Rege	ceramics, ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Sødhaug		EBA	17	57	Rogaland	Sola	Rege		Barrow	Dry stone technique		Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Einarshaug	S8726a-d	EBA	17		Rogaland	Sola	Rege	ceramics, ceramics, burnt bone, flint	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Regehaugen	S1263, S1264, S1265, S1266, S1267, S1268, S1269a-c	II	17	2	Rogaland	Sola	Rege	neck-collar, belt-plate, tutulus, arm-ring, brooch, dagger blade, spiral-tube, bronze tube, bone	Barrow	Dry stone technique	Two cists: E-W	Cist 1: Female		Lorange 1882, Møllerop 1963b, Myhre 1980, Larsen 1996
Store Melhaug	S2950	III	14		Rogaland	Sola	Sola	razor	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Male	LBA finds B.3333a-c	Lorange 1879, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Lille Melhaug	B1009, S2882	EBA	14	25	Rogaland	Sola	Sola	sword, razor	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Male	removed	Nicolaysen 1875, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjelta 1	S1262	II	28	14	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta	arm-ring in bronze	Barrow	Dry stone technique	E-W	Indeterminable	removed	Buch 1881, Møllerop 1963, Larsen 1996, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjelta 2		EBA	28	16	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta		Barrow			Indeterminable	No info	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjelta 3		EBA	28	16	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta		Barrow			Indeterminable	No info	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjelta 4		EBA	28	18	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Tjelta 5		EBA	28	18	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Tjelta 6		EBA	28	68	Rogaland	Sola	Tjelta		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Kongshaug		EBA	10		Rogaland	Sola	Tjora		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Orshaug		EBA	10		Rogaland	Sola	Tjora		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Svarthaug		EBA	10		Rogaland	Sola	Tjora		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Vedesvarden		EBA	10		Rogaland	Sola	Tjora		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Elhaug	S1569	II/YBA	10	10	Rogaland	Sola	Tjora	razor	Barrow			Male		Helliesen 1885, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Gårdshaug		EBA	22		Rogaland	Sola	Vigdel		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Vigdelveden		EBA	22	6	Rogaland	Sola	Vigdel		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Haugarhaug		EBA	20		Rogaland	Sola	Ølberg		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Østre Stangeland 1		EBA	31		Rogaland	Sola	Østre Stangeland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Østre Stangeland 2		EBA	31		Rogaland	Sola	Østre Stangeland		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Østre Stangeland 3		EBA	31		Rogaland	Sola	Østre Stangeland		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Østre Stangeland 4		EBA			Rogaland	Sola	Østre Stangeland		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Husabø 1		EBA	6		Rogaland	Stavanger	Husabø		Cairn			Indeterminable	Hundvåg	Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Madla 1	B4152	II	38		Rogaland	Stavanger	Madla	blade of a bronze sword	Barrow			Male	removed	Møllerp 1963, Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Madla 2	S2357	EBA	38		Rogaland	Stavanger	Madla	arm-ring in bronze	Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004, Engedal 2010
Madla 3		EBA	38		Rogaland	Stavanger	Madla		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Mjughaug		EBA	41		Rogaland	Stavanger	Nordre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Nordre Sunde 1	S400	II	41		Rogaland	Stavanger	Nordre Sunde	dagger	Barrow	Dry stone technique	W-E	Indeterminable	removed	Møllerop 1963, Nordenborg Myhre 2004, Engedal 2010
Nordre Sunde 2		EBA	41		Rogaland	Stavanger	Nordre Sunde		Cairn			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Århaug		EBA	41		Rogaland	Stavanger	Nordre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Heislandsrudlo		EBA	40		Rogaland	Stavanger	Søre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Lille Østensvarden		EBA	40		Rogaland	Stavanger	Søre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Mimmarudlo		EBA	40		Rogaland	Stavanger	Søre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Østensvarden		EBA	40		Rogaland	Stavanger	Søre Sunde		Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Sedberg 1	S6524	EBA	37	2	Rogaland	Strand	Sedberg	ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable	possibly a destroyed barrow (Fett and Fett 1941)	Fett and Fett 1941, Syvertsen 2003, Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Tau 1	S3253	LN/EBA	16		Rogaland	Strand	Tau	flint dagger	Cairn	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	unclear location	Helliesen and Brøgger 1910, Gjessing 1920, Østmo 2011
Augland 1	S2405	EBA	10		Rogaland	Time	Auglend		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Helliesen 1901, de Lange 1912
Herikstad 1	S4745	BRA	11		Rogaland	Time	Herikstad	ornamented grave slab	Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Hognestad 1	S6400a-e, S9784	II	9		Rogaland	Time	Hognestad	dagger, ceramics, charcoal, earth sample, flint, ornamented grave slab	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	removed	Bang-Andersen 1936
Holen 1	B5000a-c	II	21		Rogaland	Time	Holen	brooch, dagger, piece of ceramics	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable		Møllerop 1963, Larsen 1996, Nordenborg Myhre 2004, Engedal 2010
Holen 2		EBA	21		Rogaland	Time	Holen		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Holen 3		EBA	21		Rogaland	Time	Holen		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Line 1	B4911	I?	5		Rogaland	Time	Line		Barrow			Indeterminable	removed	Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Re 1	B5002	III	3		Rogaland	Time	Re	dagger blade	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	removed	Gustafson 1893, Larsen 1996, Nordenborg Myhre 2004, Engedal 2010
Re 2		EBA	3		Rogaland	Time	Re		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
Re 3		EBA	3		Rogaland	Time	Re		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Re 4		EBA	3		Rogaland	Time	Re		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Re 5		EBA	3		Rogaland	Time	Re		Barrow			Indeterminable		Nordenborg Myhre 2004
Skeie 1	B1011	II			Rogaland	Vindafjord	Skeie	sword	Barrow	Dry stone technique		Male	unclear location	Engedal 2010
Svarthaug		EBA	39		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Dyngvoll	ceramic, flint, burnt bone	Barrow	Dry stone technique	SE-NW	Indeterminable		Lorange 1878, Petersen 1926
Fjellestad 1	C38005a-g	LN/EBA	5		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Fjellestad	charcoal, flint, quartz, burnt bone, tin awl	Cairn			Indeterminable		Ballin and Jensen 1995, Melheim 2012a-b, Kilhavn 2013
Hananger 1	C22273	LN/EBA	16		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Hananger	copper hammer	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Johansen 1986, Stylegard 2007, Melheim 2012
Hananger 2	C25633a-b	II	66		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Hananger	tutulus, organic material	Barrow	Standing stone slabs		Female	unclear location	Johansen 1986, Hauge 2007
Kjørrefjord 1	C20991a-d	III	13		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Kjørrefjord	arm-ring of bronze, knife, bronze fragments, flint	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Johansen 1986, Hauge 2007, Melheim 2012
Klokkhammer 1	B4513	LN II	103		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Klokkhammer	gold noppenring	Barrow			Male	unclear location	Johansen 1986, Hauge 2007, Stylegard 2007, Melheim 2012
Kviljo 1	B3201a-b	EBA	23		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Kviljo	flint	Cairn	Standing stone slabs		Indeterminable	unclear location	Lorange 1878, Petersen

Appendix

Burial Mound	Museum number	Period	Cadastral number	Holding number	County	Municipality	Farmstead	Material	Exterior Construction	Interior Construction	Cist alignment	Gender	Comments	Literature
														1926, Hauge 2007, Melheim 2012
Vest-Hassel 1	B3875a-e	EBA	28		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Vest-Hassel	pottery with burnt bones, ceramics, arrowhead, double-stud, four-sided bronze stift	Barrow			Indeterminable	unclear location	Melheim 2006, Hauge 2007
Sverreshaug	B3209	EBA	40		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Østre Hauge	bronze plate (LBA?)	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	W-E	Indeterminable	burnt bone from secondary burial	Lorange 1878, Petersen 1926, Hauge 2007
Øvre Meberg 1	C27790a-c	III	88		Vest-Agder	Farsund	Øvre Meberg	sword, ceramic, charcoal	Barrow	Standing stone slabs	N-S	Male		Marstander 1948, Hauge 2007

Comment to appendix II: Recalibrated ^{14}C-dates

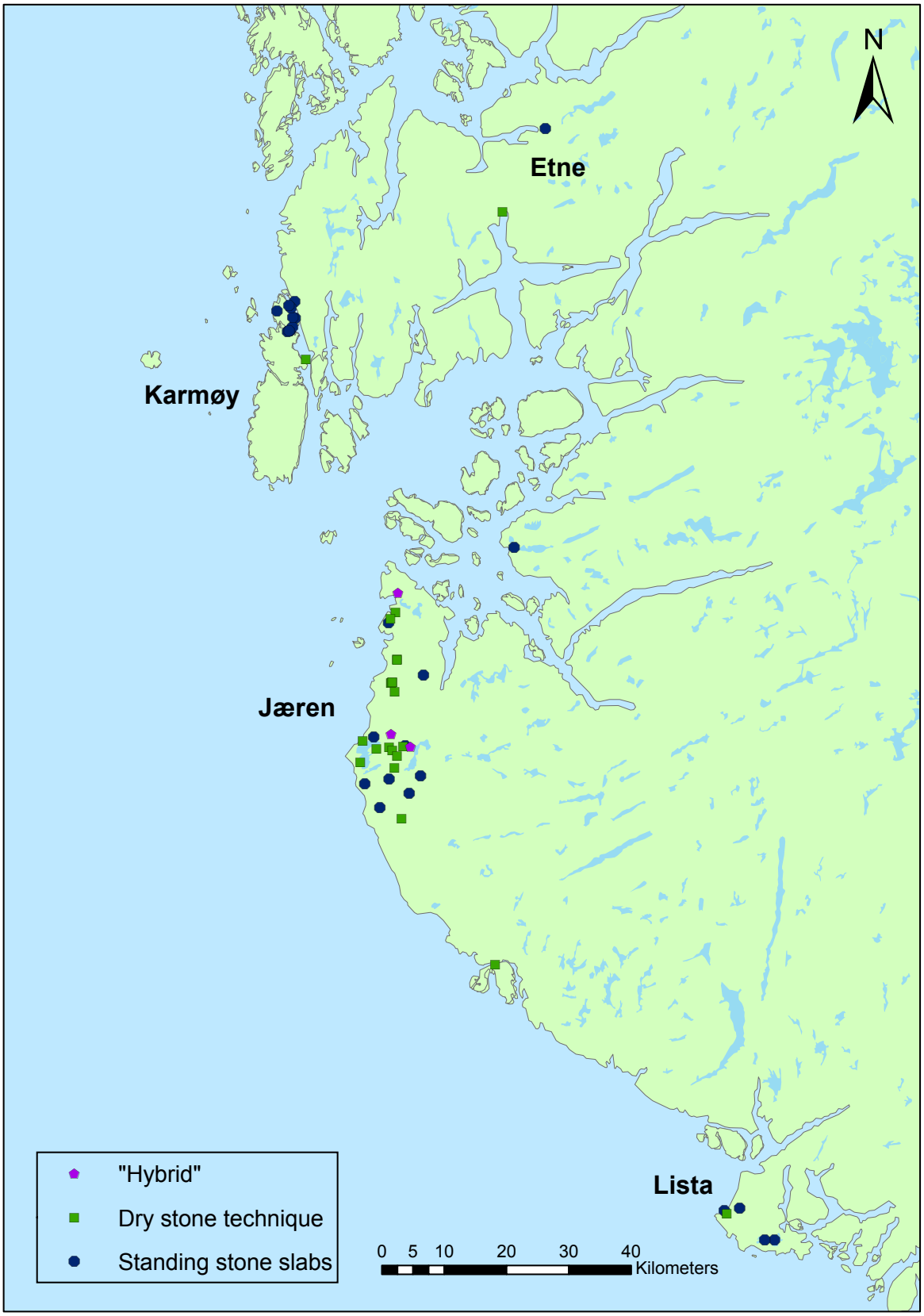
There are very few ^{14}C-analysis from the Bronze Age in southwest Norway. I have therefore chosen to present these in recalibrated dates, as there have been some marked changes of the recalibration curve since many of the original reports. All recalibrated dates have been done in the latest version of OxCal version 4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) and the most up-to-date calibration curve IntCal 13 (Reimer, et al. 2013).

Period	Burial Mound	Sample	Un-calibrated	Re-calibrated	Context
EBA I – II	Garahaugen	See Myhre and Myhre 1970	3330 ± 80 BP	1777 – 1436 BCE	Charcoal from inside the cist
EBA II – III	Garahaugen	T-860	3080 ± 80 BP	1516 – 1111 BCE	Charcoal from below the cist
LN I – II	Fyrstegraven	TUa-168	3145 ± 60 BP	1532 – 1260 BCE	Wood from scabbard
EBA II – III	Kongshaugen	Beta-159023	2870 ± 40 BP	1131 – 923 BCE	Skeletal in central cist
EBA II - III	Kongshaugen	Beta-159027	3180 ± 40 BP	1532 – 1386 BCE	Charcoal at bottom of cist
LN II – EBA I	Kongshaugen	See Nordenborg Myhre 2004:160	3582 ± 40	2036 – 1870 BCE	Charcoal from cracks below the cairn

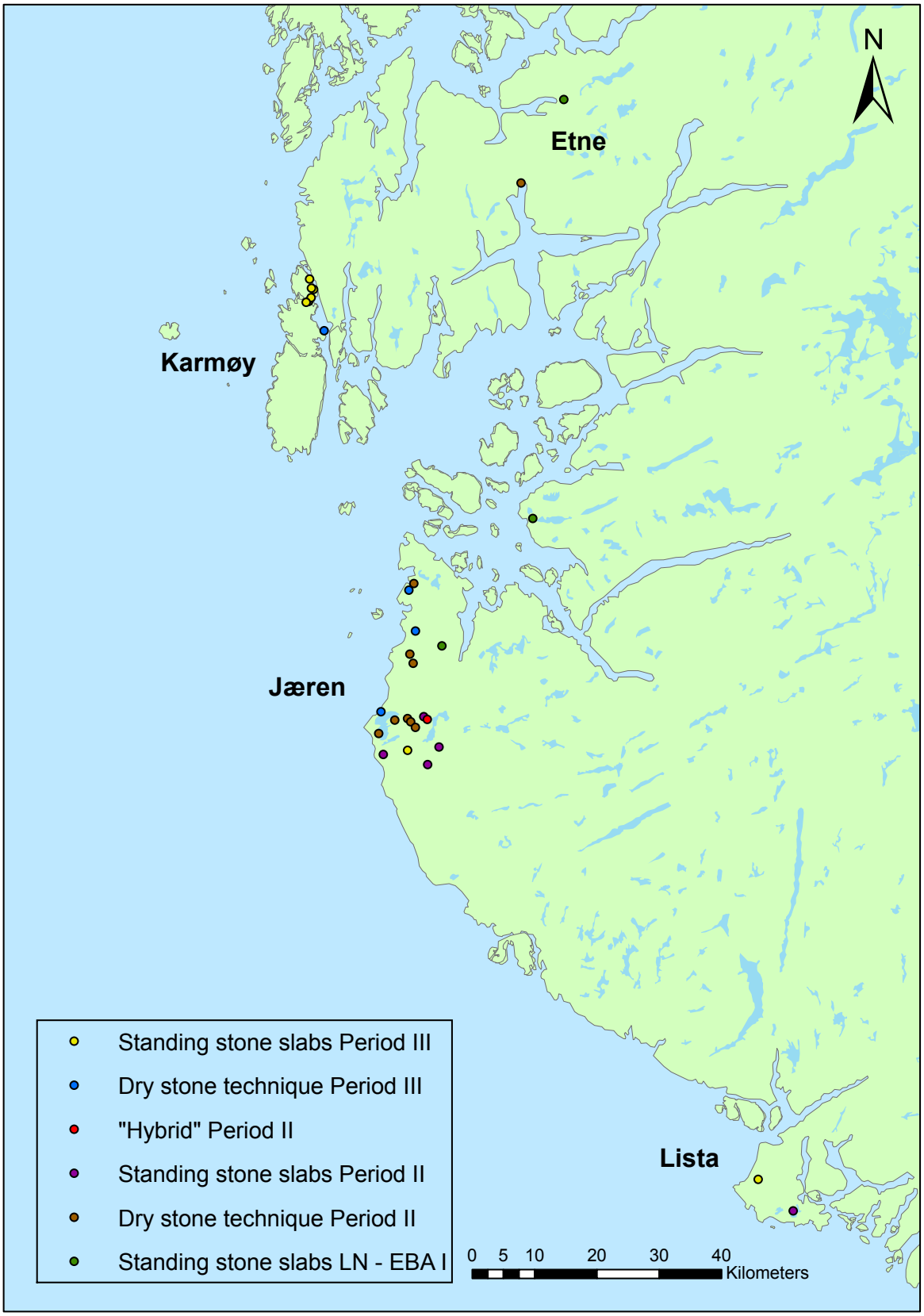
LBA VI – PRIA	Steinhaug	T-991	2340 ± 70 BP	593 – 346 BCE (66,3%)	Charcoal from pit 1
LBA V – VI	Steinhaug	T-992	2460 ± 70 BP	774 – 407 BCE	Charcoal from pit 2
LBA V – VI	Steinhaug	T-1201	2470 ± 80 BP	785 – 409 BCE	Charcoal from pit 3
LBA IV – VI	Steinhaug	T-1314	2610 ± 80 BP	935 – 485 BCE	Charcoal from pit 4
LBA V – PRIA	Steinhaug	T-1315	2380 ± 110 BP	792 – 347 BCE	Charcoal from pit 5
EBA I – II	Stokka	Topographical archive, Stavanger	3180 ± 80 BP	1634 – 1260 BCE	Charcoal inside cist
MNB – LN II	Lundevåg	T-010478	3870 ± 95 BP	2579 – 2112 BCE	Charcoal from debris
EBA II – LBA IV	Årsland	T-2149	2990 ± 100 BP	1442 – 970 BCE	Charcoal from pit 1
EBA I – II	Årsland	T-2150	3270 ± 70 BP	1694 – 1415 BCE	Charcoal from pit 2

Comment to appendix III: Distribution maps

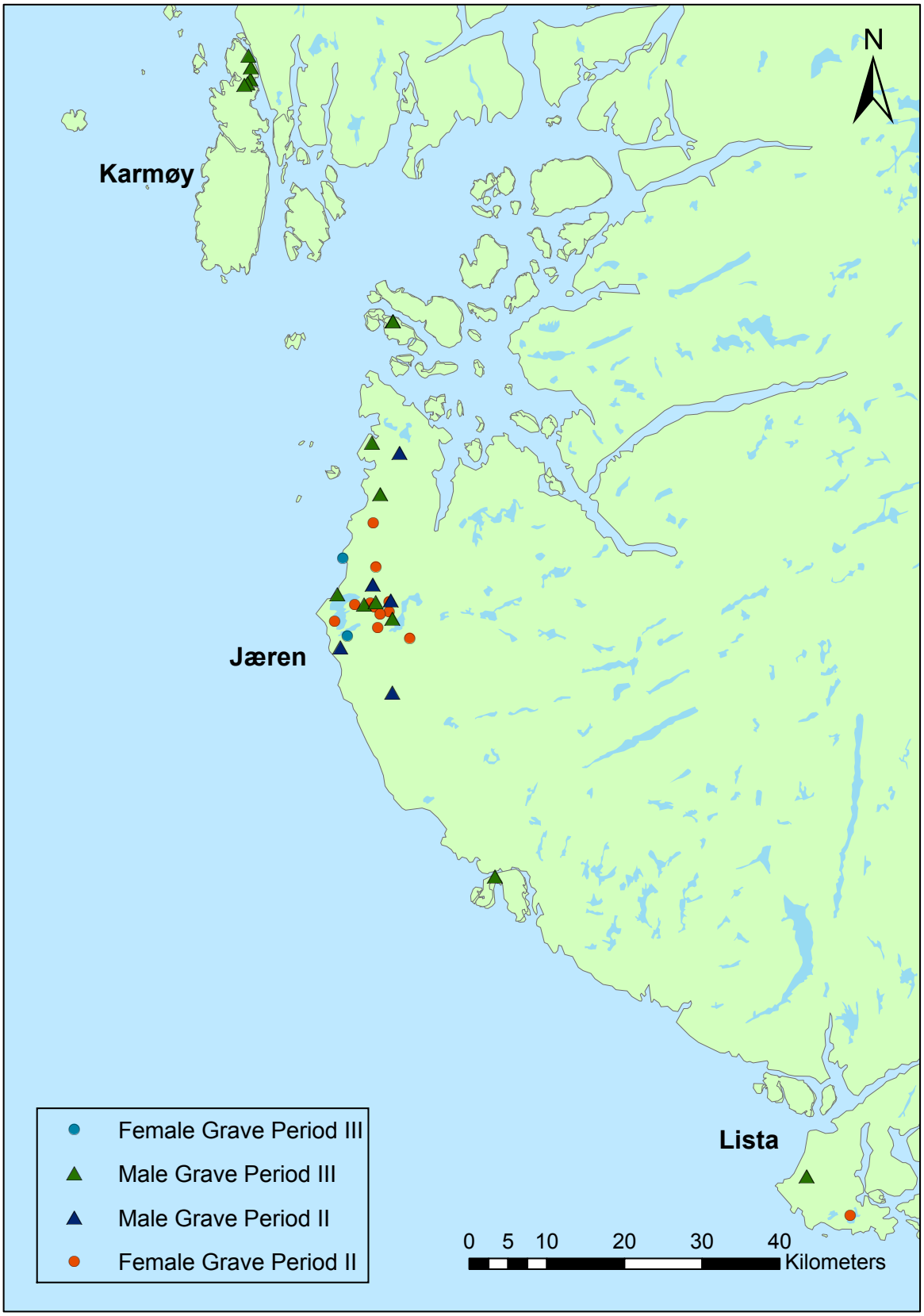
Overview of the municipalities included in this thesis.



Distribution of different cist constructions.



Distribution of cist construction divided into periods.



Distribution of graves divided into gender and periods.